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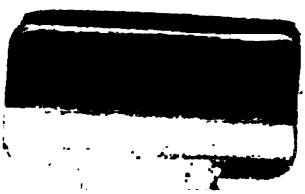
THE TRUE NAPOLEON

CHARLES JOSSELYN



THE TRUE NAPOLEON

A CYCLOPEDIA OF EVENTS IN HIS LIFE

BY

NEW YORK, MCMII

1814

Etched by Ruet, after Meissonier

THE TRUE NAPOLEON

A CYCLOPEDIA OF EVENTS IN HIS LIFE

BY

CHARLES JOSSELYN

R. H. RUSSELL

NEW YORK, MCMII

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BY

CHARLES JOSSELYN

DEDICATION
TO MY FRIEND, JOSEPH D. REDDING

Knowing the appreciation and admiration you entertain for the memory of the illustrious man whose life is the subject of this volume, and having so often discussed with you his great and noble career, I know that you will appreciate the dedication of this work coming from a friend, whose admiration is as great as your own. I have done all I feel competent of doing with the subject, namely, compiled the work from chapters of notable writers, but I trust the book will be none the less worthy of your approval.

PREFACE

The lives of Napoleon the First are legion. Lord Rosebery in his charming volume recently issued says, "Will there ever be an adequate life of Napoleon?" and gives as a probable reason for none ever having been written, that we have been too near the prejudice and passion of his time, and were, perhaps, not yet sufficiently outside Napoleon's historical sphere of influence for such a book to be written. It is my opinion that those who have made this most wonderful character of history a study will fully agree with Lord Rosebery. It is not my purpose to write a life of Napoleon; this volume is simply a compilation of anecdotes and opinion incident to himself and his times, and like J. T. Headley, author of "Napoleon and His Marshals," I pretend to no originality except that, like him, I have grouped what I believe to be interesting facts already given to the world and have used without any hesitation any reliable author that could help me. It may save many who are interested in the life of Napoleon the trouble of wading through many volumes to find that which they would like to read.

PREFACE

The book is, as its title represents, a dictionary of events.

I have purposely avoided narrating scandals and intrigues of which, alas, there are many. My object is solely to present the pleasant and noble side of Napoleon's character. That he had faults, was sometimes untruthful, cruel, even vicious, is admitted, but the good he performed, the great results he achieved may possibly over-balance many of these unpleasant and bad qualities, and these I think, in a great measure, are buried beneath his many noble deeds. Again, perhaps, many with whom he had to deal and the necessity at times for prompt action warranted measures that under other circumstances would not have been justifiable. He probably did place too broad an interpretation on the adage "that all is fair in love and war." Were Napoleon as remote as Cæsar, Alexander, or the other great conquerors, it is possible that, like them, many of his vices and alleged cruelties would have been forgotten. Was Napoleon a good man? To quote Lord Rosebery: "Ordinary measures and tests do not apply to him. In such a creature we expect prodigious virtues and vices all beyond our standard." He was not good in the sense that Wilberforce or St. Francis was good, he has said that he could not have achieved what he did had he been religious,

and, to use a vulgarism, he was not so black as he was painted. Circumstances, environment, epoch, training, temptation, must all be taken into account, if you would test the virtues of mankind. He had to fight for his own hand against the whole world, and it was work which gave little time for reflection. It is as a conqueror and statesman that we must judge Napoleon, and we must take him with all the imperfections that other great and noble characters have.

Students of Napoleon will recognize the sources of many of these extracts. They will be fully specified in the annotations, save in the cases of fugitive flotsam and jetsam from the great ocean of Napoleonic literature. The occasional apparent reiteration which occurs, has been unavoidable in illustrating the many points of view from which the subject has been treated.

In conclusion, I desire to acknowledge the valuable assistance rendered by Mr. L. J. B. Lincoln, of New York, in classifying and sub-dividing the mass of material which I have collected.

CHARLES JOSSELYN.

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NAPOLEON: BOY AND MAN

1767 - 1821

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NAPOLEON: BOY AND MAN

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE was born at Ajaccio, in Corsica, on the 15th of August, 1769. The original orthography of his name was Buonaparte, but he suppressed the "u" during his first campaign in Italy. His motives for so doing were merely to render the spelling conformable with the pronunciation, and to abridge his signature. He signed "Bonaparte" even after the famous Thirteenth Vendémiaire.

His birth and family name. Bourrienne.

The people of England, in their endeavors to depreciate the character of Bonaparte, have not been sparing of their reflections upon the lowness of his origin, some having asserted that his father was a butcher, his mother a washer-woman, and that he himself commenced his military career as a common soldier. If, however, his father had really followed the trade ascribed to him, it would not be the first instance of the French choosing a new dynasty of sovereigns from such a scion; for, according to the celebrated poet Dante, it was from a similar stock that the dynasty of the Capets

His pedigree, alleged and real. Labédoyère.

originally sprang. In his twentieth canto of "Purgatory," Dante introduces the shade of Hugh Capet, its founder, as saying, "Figlioul fui d'un beccajo di Parigi" ("I was the son of a butcher of Paris"). Such, however, was not the case of Bonaparte, who, on the paternal side, was descended from one of the most ancient and illustrious families in Florence while that city was a republic. The civil dissensions which then prevailed occasioned many of the noble families to emigrate from time to time, and among them was the ancestor of that branch of the Bonaparte family from which the Emperor Napoleon was descended. One of the poets of the day, tolerably skilled in heraldry, being anxious to bask in the sunshine of the Emperor's favor, offered to compose a genealogy, wherein he would undertake to prove, even to the satisfaction of the most incredulous, that the Bonapartan family was descended from the kings of the Ostrogoths. "I feel infinitely obliged to you," said the Emperor, "and conceive myself highly honored by the stock whence the Bonapartes sprang; but, from this period, my lineage must only be dated from the Eighteenth Brumaire."

The Bonapartes a Florentine family. Labédoyère.

Carlo Bonaparte espoused Mademoiselle Letizia Ramolini, whose mother, after the death of her first husband, had married Captain Fesch, an officer in one of the Swiss regiments which the

His parents. Ibid.

Genoese usually maintained on the island. Cardinal Fesch was the issue of the second marriage and consequently step-brother to Madame Bonaparte. While the war was carried on by the Corsicans against the French, Madame Bonaparte shared the fatigues and dangers of her husband, who was an enthusiast in the cause of his country. In his different expeditions she frequently followed him on horse back, while pregnant with Napoleon. She possessed extraordinary vigor and intellect, combined with considerable pride and loftiness of spirit, and became the mother of thirteen children, although a widow at the age of thirty.

"We saw much of this venerable lady," says Lady Morgan, "and fancied we could trace, in her energy and force of character, the source from whence her extraordinary son had derived his talents."

Lady Morgan's impressions. Labédoyère.

Shortly after Bonaparte's elevation to the imperial throne, meeting his mother in the gardens of St. Cloud, he, half seriously, held out his hand for her to kiss. She flung it back indignantly, and, presenting her own in the presence of his suite, said: "It is your duty to kiss the hand of her who gave you life!"

"We observed," continues my authority, "on visiting this illustrious lady, pictures of all her handsome children in the room she occupied

where we generally found her spinning, with her prayer-book beside her; there were four of them kings, when they sat for her, with the Emperor, their brother, at their head; viz., the kings of Spain, Holland, Westphalia, and Naples (her son-in-law, Murat). "You see," she said one day, as I was looking on Napoleon's picture, "when my son Napoleon sat for me, I made him lay aside his crown."

In 1767 the Corsicans took up arms to resist the subjugation of their country by the French.

Madame Bonaparte in Corsica. Labédoyère.

While this contest continued, Napoleon's mother was constantly flying from town to town to avoid the French, dreading the idea of falling into their hands. After repeated changes of place, she was delivered of Napoleon, two months subsequent to the Corsicans having given up the struggle for independence. Those who believe in the great influence which the situation of a mother produces on her offspring during pregnancy, may attribute the enterprising spirit of the son to the restless life then led by the parent.

Pius VII. was forcibly struck with the circumstance, when it was related to him in 1801 by the French ambassador.

Napoleon's idea of his mother.

Napoleon during his exile in St. Helena said of his mother: "She was a woman possessed of courage and great talent, more of a

masculine than feminine nature, proud and high-minded." He added, "She is capable of selling everything, even to her chemise, for me. I allowed her a million a year, besides a palace, and bestowed upon her many presents. She is very rich." When visited by the Duke of Hamilton and another gentleman at Rome, in 1819, Madame Mère still displayed the remains of a fine woman; her manners were dignified and commanding, and her deportment such as people would expect to find in a queen. She saw but little company; her table was splendid, though private, and devoid of all ostentation.

Visit of the Duke of Hamilton. Labédoyère.

Napoleon was born about noon, on the 15th of August, being the day of Assumption. His mother, possessing great bodily energy, wished to attend mass, on account of the solemnity of the day, when, being taken ill during the service, she was delivered on her return home, ere she could be conveyed to her chamber.

When little Arthur Bertrand was inclined to be bad-tempered, Napoleon said to Dr. Antommarchi, "This little fellow is as independent as I was at his age, but the fits of passion to which I gave way proceeded from more excusable motives; I leave you to judge. I had been placed in a school for young ladies, the mistress of which was known to our family. Being a pretty boy and the only

A story of his childhood.

one there, I was caressed by every one of my fair school-fellows. I might generally be seen with my stockings half over my shoes; and in our walks I constantly held the hand of a charming little girl, who was the cause of many broils and quarrels. My malicious comrades, jealous of my Giacominetta, combined these two circumstances together in a song which they made, and whenever I appeared in the street, they followed me, singing:

'Napoleóne di mezza calzetta
Fa l'amore a Giacominetta.'

I could not bear to be laughed at, and seizing sticks or stones, or anything that came in my way, I rushed into the midst of the crowd. Fortunately, it always happened that somebody interfered, and got me out of the scrape, but the number opposed to me never stopped me. I never reckoned how many there were.

Personal recollections of his mother.

"My mother," said Napoleon, "is a woman of much order and great virtue. But, like all mothers, she loved her children unequally. Pauline and I were her favorites; Pauline, because she was the prettiest and most graceful; I, perhaps through one of those natural instincts, which told her that I should be the creator of the nobility of her blood. When she came to see me at Brienne, she was so frightened at my thinness and the alteration of my

features, that she fancied they had changed me, and hesitated some seconds before recognizing me. I was indeed much changed, because I employed the hours of recreation in working, and often passed the nights in meditating upon the day's lessons. My nature could not bear the idea of not being at once the first in my class."

Napoleon's mother, Letizia Ramolini, had many gifts—intelligence of a high order, intense energy of will, and firmness of purpose, combined with penetration and keenness of thought—and these were marked qualities of her offspring. Napoleon always treated her with affection and respect, gave her the foremost place in the imperial family, repeatedly sought her judicious advice, and consulted her at the most trying crisis of his life, when he was planning his most extraordinary escape from Elba.

Her influence with Napoleon. Morris.

It is not unworthy of notice, that the Emperor's mother (Madame Mère, as she was termed) always expressed a presentiment, that the fortunes of her family, splendid as they were, would be altered before her death; and when ridiculed by her children for her frugal disposition, she used to allege that she was saving money for them in their distress; and in fact she lived to apply her hoards to that purpose.

Her presentiments. Scott.

"Joseph would have been an ornament to

society in any country; and Lucien would have been an honor to any political assembly. Jerome, as he advanced in life, would have developed every qualification requisite in a sovereign. Louis would have been distinguished in any rank or condition of life. My sister Eliza was endowed with masculine powers of mind: she must have proved herself a philosopher in her adverse fortune. Caroline possesses great talents and capacity. Pauline, perhaps the most beautiful woman of her age, has been, and will continue to the end of her life, the most amiable creature in the world. As to my mother, she deserves all kinds of veneration. How seldom is so numerous a family entitled to so much praise! Add to this, that, setting aside the jarring of political opinions, we sincerely loved each other. For my part, I never ceased to cherish fraternal affection for them all; and I am convinced that in their hearts they felt the same sentiments towards me, and that, in case of need, they would have given me every proof of it."

Napoleon on his brothers and sisters. Las Cases.

The following interesting trait of Napoleon's childhood is derived from the "Memoirs of the Duchesse d'Abrantes:" "He was one day accused by one of his sisters of having eaten a basketful of grapes, figs, and citrons, which had come from the garden of his uncle, the Canon. None but those acquainted with the Bonaparte family can form

Story of Napoleon's childhood. Duchesse d'Abrantes.

any idea of the enormity of this offence. To eat fruit belonging to the uncle, the Canon, was infinitely more criminal than to eat grapes and figs which might be claimed by anybody else. An inquiry took place. Napoleon denied the fact, and was whipped. He was told that if he would beg pardon he should be forgiven. He protested that he was innocent, but he was not believed. If I recollect rightly, his mother was at the time on a visit to M. de Marbœuf, or some other friend. The result of Napoleon's obstinacy was that he was kept three whole days upon bread and cheese, and that cheese was not Broccio. However, he would not cry; he was dull, but not sulky.

"At length, on the fourth day of his punishment, a friend of Marianne Bonaparte returned from the country, and on hearing of Napoleon's disgrace she confessed that she and Marianne had eaten the fruit. It was now Marianne's turn to be punished. When Napoleon was asked why he had not accused his sister, he replied that though he suspected that she was guilty, yet out of consideration to her little friend, who had no share in the falsehood, he had said nothing. He was then only seven years of age."

Madame Junot's impressions of Napoleon.

Madame Junot relates some interesting particulars connected with Napoleon's first residence in Paris. "My mother's first care," says she, "on

arriving in Paris, was to inquire after Napoleon Bonaparte. He was at that time in the military school at Paris, having quitted Brienne in the September of the preceding year. My uncle Demetrius had met him just after he alighted from the coach which brought him to town. 'And truly,' said my uncle, 'he had the appearance of a fresh importation. I met him in the Palais Royal, where he was gaping and staring with wonder at everything he saw. He would have been an excellent subject for sharpers, if, indeed, he had anything worth taking!' My uncle invited him to dine at his house; for though my uncle was a bachelor, he did not choose to dine at a traiteur (the name restaurauteur was not then introduced). He told my mother that Napoleon was very morose. 'I fear,' added he, 'that that young man has more self-conceit than is suitable to his condition. When he dined with me he began to declaim violently against the luxury of the young men of the military school. After a little he turned the conversation on Mania, and the present education of the young Manioites, drawing a comparison between it and the ancient Spartan system of education. His observations on this head, he told me, he intended to embody in a memorial to be presented to the Minister of War. All this, depend upon it, will bring him under the displeasure of his comrades, and it will be lucky

Madame Junot, continued.

if he escapes being run through.' A few days afterwards my mother saw Napoleon, and then his irritability was at its height. He would scarcely bear any observations, even if made in his favor, and I am convinced that it is to this uncontrollable irritability that he owed the reputation of having been ill-tempered in his boyhood, and splenetic in his youth. My father, who was acquainted with almost all of the heads of the military school, obtained leave for him sometimes to come out for recreation. On account of an accident (a sprain, if I recollect rightly), Napoleon once spent a whole week at our house. To this day, whenever I pass the Quai Conti I cannot help looking up at a mansard at the left angle of the house on the third floor. That was Napoleon's chamber when he paid us a visit, and a neat little room it was. My brother used to occupy the one next to it. The two young men were nearly of the same age: my brother perhaps had the advantage of a year or fifteen months. My mother had recommended him to cultivate the friendship of young Bonaparte; but my brother complained how unpleasant it was to find only cold politeness where he expected affection. This repulsiveness on the part of Napoleon was almost offensive, and must have been sensibly felt by my brother, who was not only remarkable for the mildness of his temper and the

Madame Junot, continued.

amenity and graces of his manner, but whose society was courted in the most distinguished circles of Paris on account of his accomplishments. He perceived in Bonaparte a kind of acerbity and bitter irony, of which he long endeavored to discover the cause. 'I believe,' said Albert one day to my mother, 'that the poor young man feels keenly his dependent situation.'"

A second memoir, prepared by him to the same effect, was intended for the Minister of War, but Father Berton wisely advised silence to the young cadet. Although believing in the necessity of show and of magnificence in public life, Napoleon remained true to these principles. While lavishing wealth on his ministers and marshals, "In your private life," said he, "be economical and even parsimonious; in public be magnificent."

Napoleon as a cadet.

In the month of April, 1792, I returned to Paris, where I again met Bonaparte, and our college intimacy was fully renewed. I was not very well off, and adversity was hanging heavily on him; his resources frequently failed him. We passed our time like two young fellows of twenty-three who have little money and less occupation. Bonaparte was always poorer than I. Every day we conceived some new project or other. We were on the lookout for some profitable speculation. At one time he wanted me to join him in renting several

Napoleon in 1792. Bourrienne.

houses, then building in the Rue Montholon, to underlet them afterwards. We found the demands of the landlords extravagant—everything failed. At the same time he was soliciting employment at the War Office, and I at the Office of Foreign Affairs. I was for the moment the luckier of the two.

From his boyhood Napoleon was fond of reading the history of the great men of antiquity; and what he chiefly sought to discover was the means by which those men had become great. He remarked that military glory secures more extended fame than the arts of peace and the noble efforts which contribute to the happiness of mankind. History informs us that great military talent and victory often give the power, which, in its turn, procures the means of gratifying ambition. Napoleon was always persuaded that that power was essential to him, in order to bend men to his will, and to stifle all discussions on his conduct. It was his established principle never to sign a disadvantageous peace. To him a tarnished crown was no longer a crown. He said one day to M. de Caulaincourt, who was pressing him to consent to sacrifices, "Courage may defend a crown, but infamy never." In all the last acts of Napoleon's career I can retrace the impress of his character, as I had

Napoleon's fondness for reading in boyhood. Bourrienne.

often recognized it in the great actions of the Emperor.

NAPOLEON'S EYE.

One Look From It Explained His Power Over Men.

In 1887, while working in London as a curate to the Rev. Canon Fleming, I was called in my vicar's absence to administer a religious service to an old admiral in Eaton Square. The admiral's name was Eden. After the service was over he took my hand and said, "Shake hands with me, young man. There are not many alive who can say what I can say. You are talking with a man who has talked to Napoleon the Great." "Sir," I said, "that is history. May I hear more?" The old admiral then told me that he was once returning with the fleet—I think from the West Indies, but of that I am not sure—and touched at St. Helena. "The admiral said, 'I am going up to Longwood to pay my respects to Napoleon, and the senior midshipman comes with me.'

Admiral Eden's impressions of Napoleon. Booker.

"I was the senior midshipman," said the old gentleman, "and so I went. We waited for Napoleon in an outer room, and you must imagine how eagerly I expected his entrance. The door was thrown open at last, and in he came. He was short and fat and nothing very attractive but for

his eye. My word, sir, I have never seen anything like it. After speaking to the admiral he turned to me, and then I understood for the first time in my life what was the meaning of the phrase, 'A born ruler of men.' I had been taught to hate the French as I hated the devil, but when Napoleon looked at me there was such power and majesty in his look that if he had bade me lie down that he might walk over me I would have done it at once, English middy though I was. The look on Napoleon's face was the revelation of the man and the explanation of his power. He was born to command."

Such was Admiral Eden's version to me of an incident which, at ninety years old or thereabout, seemed to him as fresh as if it had happened only the day before.—Rev. John Rooker in London *Spectator*.

Napoleon had the happy power, indispensable to a man bearing the enormous strain of his vast and centralized empire, of commanding sleep at will. He was believed to sleep but little: this was a mistake. At times of great excitement he became almost insensible to bodily wants; but ordinarily, if tired, he would snatch a few minutes sleep in the intervals of a conversation or between any occurrences. No fears for the future, however

Napoleon's power of sleep. Bourrienne.

hazardous his position, interfered with this power. Thus on the night before his *coup d'état* of the Eighteenth Brumaire he loaded two pistols and put them by his bedside, telling the surprised Josephine something might happen in the night. After this he lay down and slept soundly till daylight. On the night before Austerlitz, after sending off Savary to ascertain the cause of a night alarm, he fell asleep so heavily that Savary on his return had to shake him to get him to receive the report. Napoleon then mounted and rode along his line, and again returned, to sleep till daybreak, though unquiet about the movements of the enemy. At Waterloo he threw himself on his camp-bed, telling Jerome, "It is ten o'clock, I shall sleep till eleven. I shall certainly wake of myself, but in any case rouse me yourself, for they"—pointing to the officers round him—"will not dare to disturb my repose." Josephine made Napoleon retain the habit of sleeping with her for long after he was Consul, by assuring him that she slept so lightly that he could trust to her arousing him if any attempt were made on him. His habit of sometimes falling asleep at a pause in a conversation was often trying to his Ministers. During the 1807 campaign, when Talleyrand, much to his own disgust, was with the army, he was one night called to speak to Napoleon, who was in bed.

Further Examples. Bourrienne.

Finding that Napoleon kept dozing off, but awaking and again beginning to talk each time Talleyrand touched the door-handle, the poor Minister, in despair of escaping, had to resort to the plan of passing the rest of the night in an arm-chair in the room. General Gourgaud, who was long with Napoleon, says: "Such was the special organization of this man, who was extraordinary in everything, that he could sleep an hour, be awakened to give an order, again go to sleep, and be again awakened, without either his repose or his health suffering. Six hours of sleep sufficed for him, whether he took them at a stretch, or whether he slept at intervals during the twenty-four hours." But this is to be taken as chiefly applying to times of exertion. In ordinary times he seems to have gone to bed between ten and eleven, rising generally about seven. Bonaparte made others watch, but he himself slept, and slept well. His orders were that I should call him every morning at seven. I was therefore the first to enter his chamber; but very frequently when I woke him he would turn himself and say: "Ah, Bourrienne! let me lie a little longer." When there was no very pressing business I did not disturb him again till eight o'clock. He in general slept seven hours out of the twenty-four, besides taking a short nap in the afternoon.

Gourgaud's account. Bourrienne.

Bonaparte rose at uncertain hours, but ordina-

rily at seven o'clock. When he awoke in the night he sometimes began to work, or he bathed, or ate. His awakening was generally melancholy, and appeared painful. Not infrequently he had convulsive spasms in the stomach, which made him vomit. Sometimes he seemed much disquieted by such attacks, as if he dreaded having been poisoned, and then there was great difficulty to prevent him increasing this tendency by trying all he could to excite the vomiting. I have this detail from Corvisart, his chief physician.

Napoleon's awakening. Bourrienne.

Napoleon knew that I (Meneval) did not possess the precious faculty enjoyed by him of sleeping at will, and that it was impossible for me to sleep during the day. After any work which had occupied part of the night he recommended me to take a bath, and often he himself gave orders for preparing one for me. Sometimes he passed entire days without working, and still he did not leave his palace or even his cabinet. He seemed puzzled how to employ his time on such days of an idleness which was only apparent, for if the body were inactive his mind was not. He would pass an hour with the Empress, then return, sit on his sofa and sleep, or appear to sleep, for some moments. He would then sit on a corner of my desk, or on the arm of my chair, sometimes on my knees, he would put his arm around my neck, and amuse himself

Napoleon's habits of sleep or work. Meneval

by gently pulling my ear, or striking me on the shoulder or cheek. He talked disjointedly of himself, his fancies, his organization, of me, or of any plan he had in his head. He liked to jest on one, but never in a rough or disagreeable manner, but, on the contrary, laughingly and with real kindness. He read aloud, then he closed the book and walked up and down declaiming. The passages he repeated with the most pleasure were:

His reading aloud. Meneval.

"J'ai servi, commandé, vaincu, quarante années."

"Du monde entre mes mains j'ai vu les destinées."

"Et j'ai toujours connu qu'en chaque événement."

"Le destin des Etats dependait d'un moment."

When he was tired of reading poetry he would sing with a strong but false voice.

His body is far from being a body of iron, as has been supposed; all his strength centres in his mind; although no sovereign ever underwent so much bodily fatigue.

"The Emperor eats very irregularly, but generally little. He often says that a man may hurt himself by eating too much, but never by eating too little. He will remain four and twenty hours without eating, only to get an appetite for the ensuing day. But if he eats little, he drinks still less.

Napoleon's habits. Labédoyère

A single glass of madeira or champagne is sufficient to restore his strength, and produce cheerfulness of spirits. He sleeps very little, and very irregularly, generally rising at daybreak to read or write, and afterwards lying down to sleep again. The Emperor has no faith in medicine, and never takes any. He has adopted a peculiar mode of treatment of himself. Whenever he is unwell, his plan consists in running into an extreme, the opposite of what happens to be his habit at the time. This he calls restoring the equilibrium of nature. For instance, if he has been inactive for a length of time, he will suddenly ride about sixty miles, or hunt the whole day. If, on the contrary, he has been harrassed by great fatigues, he will resign himself to absolute rest for twenty-four hours. Such unexpected shocks he thinks infallibly bring about an internal crisis, instantly producing the desired effect, and which, as a remedy, never fails him."

Napoleon's physical exercise. Labédoyère.

"Napoleon often woke during the night, called for one of his secretaries, and worked until sleep returned. Day and night in the kitchen of the Tuileries, or even in a campaign, three fowls were always kept in different stages of roasting. One was always to be ready for immediate eating on the Emperor's demand."

"The Emperor's lymphatic system is deranged, and his blood circulates with difficulty. Nature, he said, had endowed him with two important advantages: the one was the power of sleeping whenever he needed repose, at any hour, and in any place; another was that he was incapable of committing any injurious excess either in eating or drinking. 'If,' said he, 'I go the least beyond my mark, my stomach instantly revolts.' He is subject to nausea from very slight causes; a mere tickling cough is sufficient to produce that effect on him."

Napoleon's bodily condition. O'Meara.

"The Grand Marshal added that he could safely say that he had seen Napoleon sleep, not only on the eve of an engagement, but even during the battle. 'I was obliged to do so,' said Napoleon, 'when I fought battles that lasted three days; nature was also to have her due: I took advantage of the smallest intervals and slept when and where I could.'"

"The hours at which I obey the injunctions of nature are in general extremely irregular. I sleep, I eat according to circumstances or the situation in which I am placed; my sleep is ordinarily sound and tranquil. If pain or any accident interrupt it I jump out of bed, call for a light, walk, set to work, and fix my attention on some subject; sometimes I remain in the dark, change my apartment,

Napoleon's own account of his condition. Bourrienne.

lie down in another bed, or stretch myself on the sofa. I rise at two, three, or four in the morning; I call for someone to keep me company, amuse myself with recollections or business, and wait for the return of day. I go out as soon as dawn appears, take a stroll, and when the sun shows itself I re-enter and go to bed again, where I remain a longer or shorter time, according as the day promises to turn out. If it is bad, and I feel irritation and uneasiness, I have recourse to the method I have just mentioned. I change my posture, pass from my bed to the sofa, from the sofa to the bed, seek and find a degree of freshness. I do not describe to you my morning costume; it has nothing to do with the sufferings I endure, and besides, I do not wish to deprive you of the pleasure of your surprise when you see it. These ingenious contrivances carry me on to nine or ten o'clock, sometimes later. I then order the breakfast to be brought, which I take from time to time in my bath, but most frequently in the garden. Either Bertrand or Montholon keep me company, often both of them. Physicians have the right of regulating the table; it is proper that I should give you an account of mine. Well then, a basin of soup, two plates of meat, one of vegetables, a salad when I can take it, composes the whole service; half a bottle of claret, which I dilute with a

His daily life. Bourrienne.

good deal of water, serves me for a drink; I drink a little of it pure towards the end of the repast. Sometimes, when I feel fatigued, I substitute champagne for claret; it is a certain means of giving a fillip to the stomach."

Bonaparte drank little wine, always either claret or Burgundy, and the latter by preference. After breakfast, as well as after dinner, he took a cup of strong coffee. I never saw him take any between his meals, and I cannot imagine what can have given rise to the assertion of his being particularly fond of coffee. When he worked late at night he never ordered coffee, but chocolate, of which he made me take a cup with him. All that has been said about Bonaparte's immoderate use of snuff has no more foundation in truth than his pretended partiality for coffee. It is true that at an early period of his life he began to take snuff, but very sparingly and always out of a box.

Napoleon's beverages. Bourrienne.

In the beginning of the summer of 1802, some officers of rank, enthusiastic republicans, took great umbrage at Bonaparte's conduct, and determined to remonstrate with him upon the points that had given them offence, and speak their minds freely; and, on the evening of the same day, one of the party gave the following account of that interview:

"I do not know whence it arises, but there is a charm about that man, indescribable and irresistible. I am no admirer of his; I dislike the power to which he has risen; yet I cannot help confessing that there is something in him which seems to speak him born to command. We went into his apartment, determined to declare our minds; to expostulate with him warmly; and not to depart till our subjects of complaint would be removed. But in his manner of receiving us there was a certain *je ne sais quoi*, which disarmed us in a moment; nor could we utter one word of what we had intended to say. He talked to us for a length of time, with an eloquence peculiarly his own, explaining, with the utmost clearness and precision, the necessity of steadily pursuing the line of conduct he had adopted, and, without contradicting us in direct terms, controverted our opinions so ably, that we had not a word to offer in reply; we therefore retired, having done nothing but listen to, instead of expostulating with, him, fully convinced."

Instance of Napoleon's influence on men. Labédoyère.

The person of Bonaparte has served as a model for the most skilful painters and sculptors; many able French artists had successfully delineated his features, and yet it may be said that no perfectly faithful portrait of him exists. His finely shaped head, his superb forehead, his pale countenance,

and his usual meditative look, have been transferred to the canvas; but the versatility of his expression was beyond the reach of imitation. All the various workings of his mind were instantaneously depicted in his countenance; and his glance changed from mild to severe, and from angry to good-humored, almost with the rapidity of lightning. It may truly be said that he had a particular look for every thought that arose in his mind.

Napoleon as a model for artists. Bourrienne.

Bonaparte was exceedingly temperate, and averse to all excess. He knew the absurd stories that were circulated about him, and he was sometimes vexed at them. It has been repeated over and over again, that he was subject to attacks of epilepsy; but during the eleven years that I was almost constantly with him I never observed any symptom which in the least degree denoted that malady. His health was good and his constitution sound.

Napoleon not an epileptic. Ibid.

"Bonaparte struck me as differing considerably from the pictures and busts I had seen of him. His face and figure looked much broader and more square, larger, indeed, in every way, than any representation I had met with. His corpulency, at this time universally reported to be excessive, was by no means remarkable. His flesh looked, on the contrary, firm and muscular. There was not the least trace of color in his cheeks; in fact, his skin

His personal appearance. Labédoyère.

was more like marble than ordinary flesh. Not the smallest trace of a wrinkle was discernible on his brow, nor an approach to a furrow on any part of his countenance. His health and spirits, judging from appearances, were excellent; though at this period it was generally believed in England that he was fast sinking under a complication of diseases, and that his spirits were entirely gone. His manner of speaking was rather slow than otherwise, and perfectly distinct: he waited with great patience and kindness for my answers to his questions. The brilliant and sometimes dazzling expression of his eye could not be overlooked. It was not, however, a permanent lustre, for it was only remarkable when he was excited by some point of peculiar interest. It is impossible to imagine an expression of more entire mildness, I may almost call it benignity and kindliness, than that which played over his features during the whole interview. If, therefore, he were at this time out of health and in low spirits, his power of self-command must have been more extraordinary than is generally supposed; for his whole deportment, his conversation, and the expression of his countenance, indicated a frame in perfect health, and a mind at ease."

His manner and expression. Labédoyère.

During Madame Bertrand's stay at St. Helena, she was brought to bed of a girl. The Emperor

paid her a lying-in visit, when she took the child in her arms, and presented it to Napoleon, saying: "Sire, I have the pleasure of showing you a great curiosity—in a word, an unique; the first stranger that ever was allowed to approach your majesty in this island, without permission from the Governor, or an order from the Secretary of State." The Emperor was extremely pleased at this *bon mot*, and laughed heartily.

Anecdote of Madame Bertrand. Labédoyère.

The Queen of Wurtemberg wrote an account of an interview she had with Napoleon when he was passing through Stuttgart to her mother, Queen Charlotte, in which she expressed very favorable opinions of Napoleon, and, in describing his person, concluded in the following manner: "and he has so bewitching a smile." The Duchesse d'Abrantes says: "It is difficult, if not impossible, to describe the charm of his countenance when he smiled; his soul was upon his lips and in his eyes. The magic power of that expression is well known. The Emperor of Russia had experienced it when he said to me, 'I never loved anyone more than that man!'"

Impressions made by Napoleon.

Mr. Warden, in his "Letters from St. Helena," thus describes Napuoleon's appearance when he went on board the Northumberland: "His dress was that of a general of French infantry. The coat was green, faced with white; the vest was white,

with white silk stockings and a handsome shoe with gold oval buckles. He was decorated with a red ribbon and a star, with three medals suspended from a button-hole. His face was pale, and his beard unshaven. His forehead was thinly covered with dark hair, as well as the top of his head, which was large, and had a singular flatness. What hair he had behind was bushy, and I could not discern the slightest mixture of white in it. His eyes, which were gray, were in continual motion; his teeth were regular and good; his neck was short, but his shoulders of the finest proportion. The rest of his figure, though a little blended with the Dutch fulness, was very handsome."

Mr. Warden's account of Napoleon. O'Meara.

"Napoleon Bonaparte is of low stature and ill made; the upper part of his body is too long in proportion to his legs. He has thin chestnut hair, his eyes are grayish-blue, and his skin, which was yellow whilst he was slight, has become of late years a dead-white without any color. His forehead, the setting of his eye, the line of his nose—are all beautiful, and remind one of an antique medallion; his mouth, which is thin lipped, becomes pleasant when he laughs; the teeth are regular; his chin is short, and his jaw heavy and square; he has well-formed hands and feet; I mention them particularly, because he thought a good deal of them. He has an habitual slight stoop; his

eyes are dull, giving to his face a melancholy and meditative expression when in repose. When he is angry, his looks are fierce and menacing . . . when he laughs, his countenance improves. He was always simple in dress, and generally wore the uniform of his own guard . . the precipitation with which he did everything did not admit of his clothes being put on carefully; and on full-dress occasions his attendants were obliged to consult together as to when they might snatch a moment to dress him. He could not endure the wearing of ornaments. He would tear off or break anything that gave him the least annoyance, and the poor valet, who had occasioned him a passing inconvenience, would receive violent proofs of his anger. His hair was cut short, smoothed down, and generally ill-arranged. With his crimson and gold coat he would wear a black cravat, a lace frill to his shirt, but no sleeve ruffles. Sometimes he wore a white vest embroidered in silver, but more frequently his uniform waistcoat, his uniform sword, breeches, silk stockings and boots. This extraordinary costume and his small stature gave him the oddest possible appearance, which, however, no one ventured to ridicule. When he became Emperor, he wore a richly laced coat, with a short cloak and a plumed hat; and that costume became him very well. He also wore a magnificent

Madame de Rémusat's description of Napoleon. O'Meara.

collar of the Order of the Legion of Honor, in diamonds, on state occasions; but on ordinary occasions he wore only the silver cross."

Napoleon's business habits. O'Meara.

Napoleon in speaking of his business habits when in Paris, said that occasionally he used to dictate to four different secretaries at a time, all upon different subjects, and sometimes even to five, each writing as fast as he could.

Further impressions of Madame de Rémusat. Ibid.

"Bonaparte was deficient in education and in manners; it seemed as if he must have been destined either to live in a tent where all men are equal, or upon a throne where everything is permitted. He did not know how either to enter or to leave a room. He did not know how to make a bow, how to rise, or how to sit down. His questions were abrupt, and so also was his manner of speech. Spoken by him, Italian loses all its grace and sweetness. Whatever language he speaks, it always sounds like a foreign tongue; he appears to force it to express his thoughts. And as any rigid rule becomes an insupportable annoyance to him, and every liberty which he takes pleases him as though it were a victory, he would never yield to grammar."

His opinion of women with armies.

The Emperor observed that we allowed too much baggage and too many women to accompany our armies. "Women when they are bad," said he, "are worse than men, and more ready to commit

crimes. The soft sex, when degraded, falls lower than the other. Women are always much better or much worse than men. Witness the tricoteuses de Paris during the Revolution."

Bourrienne says: "After the morning audience I stayed with Bonaparte all the day, either reading to him, or writing to his dictation. Three or four times in the week he would go to the Council. On his way to the hall of deliberation he was obliged to cross the court-yard of the Little Luxembourg and ascend the grand staircase. This always vexed him, and the more so as the weather was very bad at the time. This annoyance continued until the 25th of December, and it was with much satisfaction that he saw himself quit of it. After leaving the Council he used to enter his cabinet singing, and God knows how wretchedly he sung! He examined whatever work he had ordered to be done, signed documents, stretched himself in his arm-chair, and read the letters of the preceding day and the publications of the morning. When there was no Council he remained in his cabinet, conversed with me, always sang, and cut, according to custom, the arm of his chair, giving himself sometimes quite the air of a great boy. Then, all at once starting up, he would describe a plan for the erection of a monument, or dictate some of those extraordinary productions which astonished and

Napoleon's many caprices. Bourrienne.

dismayed the world. He often again became the same man who, under the wall of St. Jean d'Acre, had dreamed of an empire worthy his ambition.

"There was formerly," added Napoleon, "one Buonaventura Buonaparte, who lived and died a monk. The poor man lay quietly in his grave, nothing being thought of him until I was on the throne of France. It was then discovered that he had been possessed of many virtues never attributed to him before, and the Pope proposed to me to canonize him. 'Saint Père,' said I, 'pour l'amour de Dieu, épargnez-moi le ridicule de cela'" —Holy Father, for the love of God, spare me the ridicule of such a proceeding: "you being in my power, all the world will say I forced you to make a saint out of my family."

Anecdote of Napoleon and the Pope. Labédoyère.

Napoleon would have made everything independent of religion. All the tribunals were so; marriages were independent of the priests; even the burial-places were not left at their disposal, and they could not refuse interment to the body of any person, be his tenets what they might. His intention was to render everything belonging to the constitution purely civil. He wished to deprive the priests of all influence and power in civil affairs, and oblige them to confine themselves to spiritual matters. Uncles and nieces could not marry in France without a special permission.

His attitude toward the clergy. Ibid.

Being asked if this was to be granted by the Pope, "By the Pope?" said he, smiling; "no, neither the Pope nor any of his priests have power to grant anything; the permission emanates from the sovereign."

The Emperor was a scrupulous observer of decorum, very sensitive to all the little attentions he received, and though it was a sort of system to suffer no manifestation of gratitude to escape him, yet the expression of his eye, or the tone of his voice, sufficiently denoted what he really felt. Unlike those whose lips overflowed with the expression of sentiments which their hearts never feel, Napoleon seemed to make it a rule to repress, or disguise, the kind emotions by which he was frequently inspired.

His decorum. Labédoyère.

Napoleon did not value sincerity, and he did not hesitate to say that he recognized the superiority of a man by the greater or less dexterity with which he practised the art of lying. On the occasion of his saying this he added, with great complacency, that when he was a child, one of his uncles predicted of him that he should govern the world, because he was an habitual liar. "M. de Metternich," he added, "approaches to being a statesman—he lies very well!"

His opinion on lying. Ibid.

His first acquaintance with Madame Beauharnais commenced after the disarming of the sec-

tions in Paris, subsequently to the Thirteenth of Vendémiaire, 1795. "A boy of twelve or thirteen years old presented himself to me," continued he, "and entreated that his father's sword (who had been a General of the Republic) should be returned. I was so touched by this affectionate request that I ordered it to be given to him. This boy was Eugène Beauharnais. On seeing the sword he burst into tears. I felt so much affected by his conduct that I noticed and praised him much. A few days afterwards his mother came to return me a visit of thanks. I was much struck with her appearance, and still more with her *esprit*." This first impression was daily strengthened, and marriage was not long in following.

First meeting with Josephine. O'Meara.

When Napoleon was paying his addresses to Madame de Beauharnais, neither the one nor the other kept a carriage; and therefore Bonaparte frequently accompanied her when she walked out. One day they went together to the Notary Raguideau, one of the shortest men I think I ever saw in my life. Madame de Beauharnais placed great confidence in him, and went there on purpose to acquaint him of her intention to marry the young general of artillery—the protégé of Barras. Josephine went alone into the notary's cabinet, while Bonaparte waited for her in an adjoining room. The door of Raguideau's cabinet did not shut

Anecdote of a notary and Napoleon. Bourrienne.

close, and Bonaparte plainly heard him dissuading Madame de Beauharnais from her projected marriage. "You are going to take a very wrong step," said he, "and you will be sorry for it. Can you be so mad as to marry a young man who has nothing but his cloak and his sword?" Bonaparte, Josephine told me, had never mentioned this to her, and she never supposed that he had heard what fell from Raguideau. "Only think, Bourrienne," continued she, "what was my astonishment when, dressed in the Imperial robes on the Coronation day, he desired that Raguideau might be sent for, saying that he wished to see him immediately; and when Raguideau appeared he said to him, 'Well, sir! have I nothing but my cloak and my sword now?'"

Anecdote, continued. Bourrienne.

Though Bonaparte had related to me almost all the circumstances of his life, as they occurred to his memory, he never mentioned this affair of Raguideau, which he only seemed to have suddenly recollected on his Coronation day.

The truth about this story seems to be that Raguideau went by appointment to Josephine's house (she was not likely to go to his office), and there advised her against the marriage, using the words attributed to him. He was disconcerted when introduced to Napoleon, who was standing at the window drumming on the panes. When

Josephine's version. Ibid.

asked whether he had heard, Napoleon said, "Yes, he has spoken as an honest man, and what he has said makes me esteem him. I hope he will continue to manage your affairs, for he has inclined me to give him my confidence." Instead of displaying himself as Emperor before Raguideau, Napoleon made him notary of the civil list and always treated him well.

Anecdote of Maria Louisa. Labédoyère.

Shortly after the union of Maria Louisa with Napoleon, the Empress being very deficient in her knowledge of the French language, a conversation took place respecting some new political measures adopted by the Austrian court, which not exactly meeting the views of Napoleon, he, in his hasty manner, when speaking of the Emperor Francis, called him, "Un vieux ganache," which means "a stupid old dotard." As Maria Louisa had never before heard the term used, she requested to know its meaning, upon which her husband, unwilling that she should learn the truth, informed her that un vieux ganache meant a very bright and clever fellow. On the ensuing day, a deputation waited upon the Empress, headed by Cambacérès, the arch-chancellor, and the Duke of Parma, in order to felicitate her upon the recent nuptials; when, after hearing the grand speech prepared for the occasion, in her reply to Cambacérès, conceiving that no greater compliment could be paid to that

great dignitary, she, in her answer, addressed him under the title of "un vieux ganache," to the infinite astonishment of the whole court, as well as the discomfiture of the arch-chancellor, who stood confounded upon the occasion. This curious circumstance, at which Napoleon laughed heartily, became the subject of universal conversation in all the societies of Paris, the Empress being the only person who remained ignorant of the *éclat* which her unconscious mistake had occasioned.

Napoleon's snuff-boxes and his chamberlains Las Cases.

"The Emperor, it was well known, was in the habit of taking snuff almost every minute: this was a sort of mania which seized him chiefly during intervals of abstraction. His snuff-box was speedily emptied; but he still continued to thrust his fingers into it, or to raise it to his nose, particularly when he was speaking. Those chamberlains who proved themselves most expert and assiduous in the discharge of their duties would frequently endeavor, unobserved by the Emperor, to take away the empty box and substitute a full one in its stead; for there existed a great competition of attention and courtesy among the chamberlains who were habitually employed in services about the Emperor's person: an honor which was very much envied. These individuals were, however, seldom changed, either because they intrigued to retain their places, or because it was

naturally most agreeable to the Emperor to continue them in posts with the duties of which they were acquainted. It was the business of the Grand Marshal (Duroc) to make all these arrangements. The following is an instance of the attentions evinced by the Emperor's chamberlains. One of them having observed that the Emperor on going to the theatre frequently forgot his opera-glass, of which he made very great use, got one made exactly like it, so that the first time he saw the Emperor without this glass he presented his own to him, and the difference was not observed. On his return from the theatre the Emperor was not a little surprised to find that he had got two glasses exactly alike. Next day he inquired how the new opera-glass had made its appearance, and the chamberlain replied that it was one he kept in reserve in case it might be wanted."

His opera-glasses. Las Cases.

Napoleon thus spoke of Madame de Staël: "A woman," said he, "of considerable talent and great ambition; but so extremely intriguing and restless as to give rise to the observation that she would throw her friends into the sea, that at the moment of drowning she might have an opportunity of saving them. I was obliged to banish her from Court. At Geneva she became very intimate with my brother Joseph, whom she won over by her conversation and writings.

Napoleon on Madame de Staël.

"Shortly after my return from the conquest of Italy," continued he, "I was accosted by Madame de Staël in a large company, although at that time I avoided going out much in public. She followed me everywhere, and stuck so close that I could not shake her off. At last she asked me, 'Who, at this moment, is *la première femme du monde?*' intending to pay a compliment to me, and expecting that I would return it. I looked at her and coldly replied: 'She who has borne the greatest number of children,' turned round, and left her greatly confused and abashed." He concluded by observing "that he could not call her a wicked woman, but that she was *intrigante*, possessed of considerable talent and influence."

Anecdote by Napoleon on Madame de Staël. Las Cases.

After all the outcry which has been raised about the tyrannical conduct of Napoleon towards Madame de Staël, there is some point in his question as to why she was so anxious to place herself under his tyranny. Napoleon knew her as a clever, meddling, ambitious woman, and he prevented her from stirring up political strife in Paris at a time when the land called for internal even more than for external peace. As Napoleon said to Metternich, "If Madame de Staël would be, or could be, either a royalist or a republican, I should have nothing to say against her; but she is a machine in motion which will make a disturbance in the

His remarks on Madame de Staël to Metternich.

salons. It is only in France that such a woman is to be feared, and I will not agree to it "(her return).

"Bonaparte's carriage, which was taken at the battle of Waterloo by the Prussian cavalry, contained many articles of great value. In it was a *necessaire*, in which all the instruments, basin, etc., were composed of gold; a sword set with diamonds, and a diamond necklace, estimated at a very large sum of money, which one of his sisters (I think, the Princess of Borghese) put round his neck the night he took leave of her at Paris, on his setting out to join the army previous to the battle of Waterloo, and which he had taken off and deposited in a secret place in the carriage; Marchand, his valet-de-chambre, being so nearly taken by the Prussian hussars that he quitted the carriage without having time to secure it. But I have since learned from Las Cases' Memoirs, that the necklace alluded to was saved, and that Las Cases had it concealed about his person, all the time he was on board the Bellerophon."

Story of Napoleon's jewels. Bourrienne.

Napoleon asserted that no woman was more astonished than Maria Louisa, just after her marriage, when she observed the few precautions taken by him for his personal safety. When she perceived that there were no sentinels, except at the outer gates of the palace; no lords sleeping before the portals of the apartments; the doors not

His neglect of his own safety. Labédoyère.

even locked, and that there were no guns or pistols in the room where she and the Emperor slept. "Why," said she, with astonishment, "you do not take half so many precautions as my father, who has nothing to fear." "I am," said Napoleon, "too much of a fatalist to take any precautions against assassination."

Bonaparte may have been careless of his own safety, but that he took great pains in regard to his brother's may be inferred from the following letter, written a few years later:

Instructions to his brother in this respect. Bourrienne.

"Take care that your valets-de-chambre, your cooks, the guards that sleep in your apartments, and those who come during the night to awaken you with despatches, are all Frenchmen. No one should enter your room during the night except your aide-de-camp, who should sleep in the chamber that precedes your bedroom. Your door should be fastened inside, and you ought not to open it even to your aide-de-camp, until you have recognized his voice: he himself should not knock at your door until he has locked that of the room which he is in, to make sure of being alone, and of being followed by no one. These precautions are important; they give no trouble, and they inspire confidence—besides, they may really save your life. You should establish these habits immediately and permanently; you ought not to be obliged to

have recourse to them on some emergency, which would hurt the feelings of those around you. Do not trust only to your own experience. The Neapolitan character has been notorious in every age, and you have to do with a woman (Queen of Naples) who is the impersonation of crime."

His doctor, Corvisart. Masson.

Of all the doctors the only one in whom Napoleon had confidence was Corvisart. "I have confidence in the medical skill of my first physician Corvisart," wrote he to Madame Montesquieu in 1812. He had felt it ever since the Consulate, when, on the recommendation of Madame Lannes, Josephine induced Napoleon, whose health had been for a long time out of order, to see him in consultation. Married during the Revolution to a girl of noble family, by whom he had a son whom he wished to legitimize, he lost the child, and as soon as possible obtained a divorce to resume a bachelor life. Court life did not please him, and the official world had no attractions for him. He passed his leisure time at the house of his old friend Guéhéneuc, who, as well as he, loved rough pleasantries; or in a society still more gay, in which he met vaudevillistes such as Barré and Desfontaines; the ballet-master Despréaux, the husband of Madame Guimard, a number of bons-vivants and pretty women. Ravio, the dealer in

bronzes, who composed songs in his leisure, sang the virtues of the doctor:

"Quelquefois gai, toujours paillard,"

and celebrated the recollections of the little *fêtes* in which Corvisart took part. They were of a somewhat rough kind.

Corvisart then, scarcely ever appeared at the toilet except on his days of duty, Wednesday and Saturday. Napoleon received him with jokes: "You there, great quack! have you killed many people to-day?" And Corvisart replied in the same cue, allowed his ears to be pulled and rubbed, knew how to profit by an opportune moment to make a request, and was one of those through whom a number of alms passed.

Corvisart, continued Masson.

One morning the Emperor noticed a stick in Corvisart's hand. "What have you got in your hand?" said he. "It is my Rousseau cane, Sire." "It is very ugly; it is not pretty. How can a man like you carry such an ugly stick as that?" "Sire, that cane cost me a great deal of money, although I got it very cheap." "Tell me, Corvisart! what did it cost?" "Fifteen hundred francs, Sire; it is not dear." "Ah! mon Dieu! Fifteen hundred francs! Show me that ugly stick." The Emperor took the cane, examined it in detail, and dis-

covered on the handle a little gilt medallion of Jean Jacques Rousseau. "Tell me, Corvisart, it is the cane of Jean Jacques; where did you get it? No doubt one of your patients made you a present of it. Well, really, it is a delightful relic you have there." "Pardon me, Sire, I gave fifteen hundred francs for it." "Really, Corvisart, you have not paid enough for it, for he was a great man—that is to say, a great charlatan. Really, Corvisart, he was a great man of his kind; he did some good things." And he pulled Corvisart's ears, saying, "Corvisart, you want to ape Jean Jacques!" and laughed.

Napoleon's attempt on his own life. O'Meara.

Napoleon is said to have attempted his own life shortly after his abdication: "When Napoleon departed for his second campaign in Russia, Corvisart gave him some prussic acid, enclosed in a little bag hermetically sealed, which he constantly wore round his neck. . . . Napoleon was confident of the efficacy of this poison, and regarded it as the means of being master of himself. He swallowed it after having put his affairs in order and written some letters. The poison was extremely violent in nature, but liable to lose its power by being kept for any length of time. This happened in the present instance. It caused the Emperor dreadful pain, but did not prove fatal. When the Duc de Bassano saw him in a condition

closely resembling death, he knelt down at his bedside and burst into tears. "Ah, Sire," he exclaimed, "what have you done?" The Emperor, stretching to him his cold and humid hand, said: "You see, God has decreed that I shall not die. He, too, condemns me to suffer!"

The Emperor's hair was not black but auburn. For the exact color we must without doubt not depend upon those specimens which, having been preserved under glass, have possibly lost their color by exposure to light; but there are specimens which have been carefully wrapped up, and have remained so since the time they were taken from his head. These tend almost to a dark flaxen, in keeping with blue—rather deep blue—eyes.

Color of his hair. Masson.

It was only at the end of the Consulate that he made up his mind to wear his hair quite short at the neck, and we may suppose that the reason must have been the very early baldness which is already foreshadowed in Gérard's fine portrait of 1803. In Italy he wore his hair quite long, flowing over his temples, a few locks only tied into a pigtail with a ribbon. The whole of his head was at that time slightly powdered. On coming back from Italy he gave up powder at Josephine's request; but he kept his hair long during the passage from Toulon to Alexandria. At Cairo, possibly even at the battle of the Pyramids, his hair was

Manner of wearing it. Ibid.

shorter. The hair on the temples has disappeared —all that light and floating veil which surrounded his face—and except at the back his hair is cut pretty close; but not so much as might be fancied—witness a series of busts executed on his return to France, from nature, which still show some long locks falling over the forehead, covering three-quarters of the ears, and encroaching considerably on the collar. At the same time the First Consul allowed his whiskers to grow as far as a third of the cheeks, which went down lower than the lobe of the ear, and appear to be pretty thick. These whiskers disappeared at the same time that the hair became shorter at the back; but it was only quite at the end of the Consulate that Bonaparte became "*le Tondu*" (the shorn), as the soldiers called him. Gradually from that time the forehead became bare; so much so that in some of the unflattered sketches of the end of the Empire, we see that he brings the hair forward, and that the long lock which gives so lively a character to his face comes from a distance.

Napoleon wears whiskers. Masson.

Napoleon had only two swords in constant use, both with gold hilts, with sheaths of tortoise-shell mounted in gold. On the hilt of one, in the middle, was represented an Iron Crown surrounded with a wreath of laurel, and on each side the heads of Minerva and Hercules in medallions enriched with

His swords. Ibid.

arabesques. The pommel terminated with a helmet and was formed of an owl; the bow, ornamented with eagles and bees, was finished off with a small antique lion's head; the guard, consisting of a reversed shell, was chased with a shield charged with an eagle grasping thunderbolts; on the edge of the shield were placed sixteen bees, as many as there were cohorts in the Legion of Honor; the blade of cast steel was incrusted with ornament. Biennais supplied this sword, which cost 5,700 francs.

One might be tempted to suppose that the Emperor had more than two swords in general use; but only two are to be found in the different inventories. No doubt he had swords of ceremony, but in very small number. In 1811 he possessed in all four swords: the two in general use, a sword of French pattern of silver gilt, and a sword with a straight blade and an ivory hilt. The sword which the Emperor wore at Austerlitz, that which after that day he had almost constantly at his side, which he bequeathed to his son and which General Bathier, who had charge of it, offered to King Louis Philippe, is preserved in the *cella* of the tomb at the Invalides.

His swords, continued. Masson.

It was in Vendémiaire, year IX., that the First Consul began to wear these uniforms. At Morfontaine, at the house of Joseph Bonaparte, he saw a

coat folded up on an arm-chair. He took it up and unfolded it; it was the coat of a colonel of the consular guard. "I should like to try it," said he, and undressing, he put it on. "It is a very handsome coat," said he, looking at himself in the glass. "I do not know a finer, unless it is my coat of officer of artillery." From that moment he adopted it for common use—for on ceremonial occasions he put on the coat of a general or consul—and during the Empire he wore no other. It was perhaps in imitation of Frederic II., who never wore anything but military uniform, and by preference that of his foot guards. This had become traditional among those sovereigns who were his admirers. In 1815 Napoleon occasionally put on the uniform of the national guard, but he never wore it during the Consulate, although it has been asserted; the resemblance between the two coats of the national guard and the foot grenadiers may have caused the confusion.

His adoption of a uniform. Masson.

Light and somewhat small epaulettes, with the body quite plain, the edge narrow and with bullion fringe, were all passed through the loop of the coat, which, as regards decorations, was embellished only with the badge of the grand eagle of the Legion, embroidered in silver, and with the two decorations of the Legion of Honor and of the Iron Crown. The badge of the Legion which the

Emperor wore was, up to the time of Austerlitz, the decoration in silver of a legionary, *not surmounted with the crown*, which was not added till April, 1806. After Austerlitz, he assumed the gold eagle of an officer, and kept it up to his death. From June 5th, 1805, he always wore, at the same time as the Legion of Honor, the gold decoration of his order of the Iron Crown; it was the Lombard crown, ornamented with a medallion of the crowned profile of the founder, surmounted with an eagle, and suspended to an orange ribbon with green edging. He never wore the insignia of the order of the Three Fleeces, founded by him August 15th, 1809, the decoration of which was only projected; and only two or three portraits are known in which he is represented with the cordon or the star of the order of the Réunion, instituted October 18th, 1811. Nevertheless, in certain clusters *(jeux)* of decorations which belonged to him, the blue ribbon of the Réunion is found attached to the same bar as those of the Iron Crown and the Legion. It is probable that he wore it at least during his voyage of 1811 in the United Provinces, for the two portraits mentioned are by Dutch painters.

His decorations. Masson.

When the Emperor had completed his toilet and prepared to leave his apartment, he took his hat, which the first valet handed to him, in his left hand. This hat, of black beaver, without border

or lace, ornamented only with a small tricolored cockade attached to a loop of black silk, was supplied by Poupard & Co., Palais du Tribunal, and cost sixty francs. Four were to be bought yearly, and each was to last three years. It was broad, of a comparatively soft beaver, and the crown was lined with quilted satin. In spite of this, it had still to be stretched before the Emperor, whose head was extremely sensitive, could wear it. This head-dress must have been singularly inconvenient, for when it had been exposed for a long time to the rain the beaver got soaked, and the flaps before and behind fell on his face and shoulders; but yet Napoleon was constant to it. It was his special distinction, and everyone knew him by it.

The Napoleon hat. Masson.

It was only about the year 1802 that he adopted it, at the time when Isabey painted his portrait, on foot, at Malmaison. As long as the Consulate lasted no doubt he used it only on campaign and in private. On state occasions he had an embroidered hat, without plume. During the Empire he had a sort of leaning for a brass helmet, gilt. One, at least, was to be found in his wardrobe. In private clothes he wore a round hat; but it may be affirmed that he only wore private clothes on very rare occasions, for expeditions *incognito*. Thus, at the Tuileries he had no other hat than his *petit chapeau*; but, on the other hand, he always had it either in

his hand or on his head whenever he went from one room to another. He took it by the front flap, and often waved it about in conversation. When he was angry, or wished to appear so, he threw it on the ground and kicked it with his foot.

It does not appear that the Emperor habitually carried a watch. If by chance he carried one, he took but little care of it, and in undressing he sent his watch flying like everything else that he had about him; if he happened to get in a passion, or to wish to simulate it, he threw his watch on the floor with violence, as he did his hat; but the watch would not stand such treatment, therefore repairs were very frequent.

His watches. Masson.

The watches which the Emperor had in his wardrobe, which he might have used, were repeaters, without ornament or initial, simply in a gold case, with glass over the face. Two were of silver, striking. They had been supplied by Lépine, Bréguet, and Magnier. Some had belonged to him ever since the Italian campaign. This was the case with the one he gave to the Grand Marshal at St. Helena with the remark: "Take it, Bertrand! it struck two o'clock at night at Rivoli when I gave Joubert orders to attack!"

He gives one to Bertrand. Ibid.

As to money, Napoleon never took any with him. If he went out and wanted to give some trifling alms, he addressed himself to the aide-de-camp, to

the equerry, or to the chamberlain on duty; in fact, to the first person who came to hand.

Indoors, he had in a drawer of his table rouleaus of gold for trifling assistance; if it was a question of a large sum he scrawled a draft on the treasurer-general or gave orders to the secretary to pay it from the petty cash.

His pocket-money. Masson.

Napoleon always took his *déjeuner* alone, except during the very short time between his second marriage and the confinement of the Empress. Josephine never took *déjeuner* with him, and after the birth of the King of Rome the Emperor resumed his solitary habits, which suited him better. From the birth of his son, the *gouvernante* of the children of France, Madame de Montesquieu, was ordered to bring the child every day at the time of *déjeuner*. He took him on his knees, made him taste his reddened water, and put to his lips a little of any gravy or sauce which came to hand. Madame de Montesquieu remonstrated, the Emperor burst out laughing—it was for his son, and with his son, that he had his only noisy gayety—and the infant king laughed with him. The Empress was often present, and was amused also at these little scenes.

His breakfasts with his son. Ibid.

Such scenes were familiar to the Emperor, who for a long time past liked to have his nephews brought to him at his *déjeuner*. The picture by Ducis is well known, in which he is represented as

surrounded with all the children of the family, who play around him while he breakfasts. It is really at Saint-Cloud; but when, on February 27th, 1809, Baron Lejeune arrived from Spain bearing the news of the taking of Saragossa, and was received at the Tuileries, he found the Emperor seated near a small table having on his knees a pretty child of three years old. Both of them were taking their meal from the same fork, and during the conversation the Emperor kept caressing the child, the eldest son of King Louis. After his meal the Emperor took coffee. The child, who had stretched out his little arms to take the cup and drink also, was surprised at the bitterness of the liquid, and made a grimace and pushed away the cup. The Emperor laughed heartily, and said to his nephew: "Ah! your education is not complete yet, for you don't know how to dissimulate."

Napoleon with his little nephew. Baron Lejeune.

Sometimes, when teased, the child resisted. One day, when he had the two sons of Louis to *déjeuner*, he made the eldest turn his head away, and then took away his boiled egg. The boy, who was three years old, took up his knife and said to the Emperor: "Give me back my egg, or I will kill you!" "What, you rascal! you want to kill your uncle?" The child did not give up. "Give me back my egg, or I will kill you!" And the Emperor gave back

the egg, saying to his nephew: "You will be a famous fellow."

With the brother of Napoleon Louis, who died, Napoleon Charles, he had games of quite a different sort. He took him in his arms, showed him the garden, and said: "Whose garden is that?" "My uncle's." He pulled his ears, and said: "When I am gone it will be yours. I hope you will have a good inheritance." He let him do just as he liked, delighted to hear him cry out when he saw soldiers in the garden. "Vive Nonon the soldier!" amusing himself with the fables which he made him recite, playing with him to the extent of holding him on his knee and giving him lentils to eat, one by one, having the same weakness for him as in 1804, when he had him brought to Malmaison during dinner, put him on the table, and laughed like a madman to see him help himself from the dishes and upset everything around him.

His intimacy with children. Masson.

With the children of Caroline and Eliza these pleasantries succeeded less. Less accustomed to his ways, less respectful towards their uncle, less brought up to love him, and surrounded by more servile attendants, they sometimes got angry, as little Achille Murat, whose ears he pulled, and who rushed at him with clenched fist, crying out: "You are a naughty, wicked man!"

Other children—little Léon, the little Walewski

—were sometimes brought to him at *déjeuner*. With these also he was connected, and it was natural that he should put himself out for them; but the children of his servants, like the son of Roustam, whom he caressed, from whom he provoked retorts and the familiar "*tutoiement*," and whose ears he gayly rubbed, could only have amused him because he had a love of children to a remarkable degree. He possessed it so strongly, in fact, that in his laws he put their interests in the very foremost place; and if he had the power of refusing very little to women, there is no example, so to speak, that when a child was employed to ask him a favor, he repulsed him.

His love of children. Masson.

The room which Napoleon made into his study was of moderate size. It was lighted by a single window made in a corner and looking into the garden. The principal piece of furniture, placed in the middle, was a magnificent bureau, loaded with gilt bronze, and supported by two griffins. The lid of the table slid into a groove, so that it could be shut without disarranging the papers. Under the bureau, and screwed to the floor, was a sliding cupboard, into which every time the Emperor went out was placed a portfolio of which he alone had the key. The arm-chair belonging to the bureau was of antique shape; the back was covered with tapestry of green kerseymere, the folds of

His study. Ibid.

which were fastened by silk cords, and the arms finished off with griffins' heads. The Emperor scarcely ever sat down in his chair except to give his signature. He kept habitually at the right of the fireplace, on a small sofa covered with green taffeta, near to which was a stand which received the correspondence of the day. A screen of several leaves kept off the heat of the fire. At the farther end of the room, at right angles in the corners, were placed four bookcases, and between the two which occupied the wall at the end was a great regulator clock of the same kind as that furnished in 1808 by Bailly for the study at Compiègne, which cost 4,000 francs.

The study, continued. Masson.

Opposite the fireplace, a long closet with glass doors, breast high, with a marble top, contained boxes for papers, and carried the volumes to be consulted and the documents in use; no doubt also the equestrian statuette of Frederic II., which the Emperor constantly had under his eyes. This statuette was the only work of art which he ever personally desired to have.

Its furniture. Ibid.

In the recess of the window was the table of the private secretary. The room was furnished with a few chairs. At night, to light his bureau, Napoleon used a candlestick with two branches, with a great shade of sheet iron of the ordinary kind.

The study led into the back study, which was

furnished with a few chairs covered with green morocco, and a secretaire with cylindrical lid, adorned with ornaments of bronze gilt and veneered with marqueterie of rosewood representing instruments of music. The decoration of this room recalled its former use as a boudoir. All the subjects painted in it alluded to female occupations, over which, from the ceiling, presided the Queen Maria Theresa, under the guise of Minerva. All along the walls ran a dwarf bookcase. It was in this room that the Emperor generally received his Ministers, and that he granted audience before the *lever*, during the day and in the evening. It cannot be too often repeated that a stranger never entered the study.

His use of books. Masson.

The same with books. He had everything bought that appeared, but treated them without respect, simply as working instruments. The bindings, more generally of calf of different quality, are impressed on the sides with the Imperial arms, and with the name of the library to which they belong; but this is done without taste and without elegance. The only well-bound books to be found with his arms are dedication copies, or works which he had bound for presents. In that case, and when it was a question of showing his munificence, he spared nothing.

The books printed by his orders at the Imperial

press, the great works intended to be offered to sovereigns or to dignitaries, will bear comparison with the most sumptuous work which the Imperial press has ever produced. Nothing equals the "Iconographie Grecque," or "Romaine," the "Description de l'Égypte," the "Paris" of Baltard, the "Fêtes du Sacre" and "du Mariage" of Percier and Fontaine, especially the grand book of the "Sacre" by Isabey. As to the bindings, we can judge of the magnificence which was employed by the copy of the "Musée Français," preserved in the department of engravings at the library of the palace at St. Petersburg. Each volume cost 11,000 francs.

The Imperial books. Masson.

Six o'clock had struck long ago, and, as often happened, Napoleon had scarcely seen his wife. Now and then he went down to the Empress by the little dark staircase which communicated between his apartment and that on the ground-floor, and remained a few moments. If it was at the time of her toilette, he amused himself with hindering the lady's maids, with mixing up the jewel-cases, with discussing the way she was dressed; if it happened to be breakfast-time, and Josephine, according to her habit, had a certain number of ladies whom she had invited at table, he put questions, insisted on answers to them, and, according to the humor he was in, showed himself too friend-

His family life with Josephine. Ibid.

ly, or not friendly enough, and then suddenly went upstairs again to his work. With Maria Louisa, from his marriage up to the time of the birth of the King of Rome, he felt constrained to breakfast at a fixed time; but as soon as he could he regained his liberty, to the great pleasure of his wife, who was now able to prolong the meal as much as she liked. In her case he felt himself obliged, in the course of the day, to make more frequent visits; but he did not find in her company the relaxation which he naturally met with in that of Josephine.

His habits with Maria Louisa. Masson.

Therefore, although she was an archduchess, the Emperor, after he had given her a good kiss and called her "his good Louisa," after he had looked at her embroidery and her painting, had even listened to an air on the pianoforte, sat down in an arm-chair, and as it generally happened, as soon as his thoughts were unoccupied, he took a short sleep. Then, waking up suddenly, he kissed "his good Louisa" afresh and returned. That which he scarcely tolerated from Josephine, that she should enter his study, he sanctioned occasionally in Maria Louisa; but he managed to give her to understand that the visit must be short. His son alone was a privileged person. He took the child on his arm while he was giving his signature, walked up and down with him while he dictated, allowed him to handle his papers, play with

Life with his son. Ibid.

his cards and with those blocks which he had made for his own use to show the manœuvres of troops, which to the child seemed only wooden soldiers, like his playthings. But that was so quickly over, and he had for so short a time the happiness of being a father! Some months of the winter of 1813, some weeks of 1814, that was all that he saw of his son when he was old enough to know him, to prattle to him, to smile at him, to reciprocate that passion which he felt for him.

The Imperial Assemblies. Masson.

At the assemblies, as matter of right, or almost so, the guests were first the princes and princesses of the Imperial family, then the grand officers of the crown, the colonels-general of the guard, the Emperor's aides-de-camp, the Prefect of the palace, chamberlains and the equerries of ordinary and extraordinary service, the lady of honor, the lady of the bedchamber, and the ladies of the palace on quarterly duty. Then, according to the days, and by special invitation, a grand dignitary, two or three ministers, a few senators and councillors of state, eight or ten generals or colonels—thirty to forty men, twenty to thirty ladies, who were always taken from among the wives of the chamberlains, aides-de-camp, or grand officers. Now and then, but rarely, wives of generals; still more seldom strangers.

When there was an assembly, without any theatrical performance, the Emperor remained in the apartments on the ground floor, the apartments of the Empress. Things went on much as on ordinary days. Josephine, after a few courtesies to one and another, set to at backgammon, at which she played with marvellous skill, and summoned as partner some grand dignitary, or in his absence one of the chamberlains or her gentleman of honor. At other times it was whist, especially on the days of assemblies; but whist amused her less, and it was rather from complaisance than pleasure that she took a hand at cards. Besides, at the Tuileries they never played for money. As markers, counters were thrown on the table; counters specially designed by Denon and engraved by Gayrard, with representations of good and bad fortune. Napoleon now and then sat down at one of these tables, and called one of his sisters, or some lady of the palace, to make up his party, or rather to talk. In a second *salon* the other ladies played at lotto. There was but little conversation. The men standing around wished to have the air of being interested, did not chat, but confined themselves to the exchange, in a low voice, of some every-day remark.

Social customs of Josephine and Napoleon. Masson.

Napoleon often, without touching cards, went up to the ladies, who, standing up, awaited his

good pleasure. He chatted an instant with the most intimate, or rather spoke to them, told them how the toilette they were wearing suited them, or amused himself by putting questions to them. But as soon as he became Emperor there was an end to those friendly evenings which he enjoyed at Malmaison, an end of charades, reading aloud, short stories related by each in turn, musicians called in to play some melancholy piece in the semi-obscurity of the lights, veiled with gauze; an end of the games of *vingt-et-un*, in which the First Consul, keeping the bank, laughed at his own cheating and rallied the losers; an end of those flights of rough gayety with men, all of whom as his companions-in-arms had to that time kept up not the tone of courtiers, but the privilege of true friends; an end still more and forever of the chats with some lady whom he had known when quite a child, and whom it pleased him to tease. Now he is Emperor; he has a court; and in his, as in every other, dulness reigns more than he does himself.

Different attitudes as First Consul and as Emperor. Masson.

Most frequently, even on the days of reception, when there was no absolute obligation for him to remain, or when he did not at once find someone to talk to quite to his taste, after a few turns in the *salon* he went upstairs again to set to work, unless he went to some theatre out of doors with the Empress—a thing which rarely happened from the

time when the theatre of the Tuileries was constructed; or unless there was a performance in the large hall of the Tuileries, or in the smaller apartment, or a concert in the hall of the Marshals, or a small concert in the Empress's rooms. As for diversions, the latter was the only one which was acceptable to him; music, and especially vocal music, enchanted him.

Sometimes he went to balls given by one of his sisters, or one of the ministers, especially when the ball was masked; but often, even after he had promised to go, the work which he had begun prevailed.

Anecdote of a ball, Napoleon's non-appearance. Masson.

There was a fine ball, given by the Minister of Marine, on February 23d, 1806. At the entrance were two couriers holding lighted girandoles, which they were to cross as soon as the Emperor arrived; under the gate the porter had other girandoles, which he was to carry before His Majesty. An immense number of people were invited, and the six *salons* of the Minister were full of people whom Napoleon knew, for the list had been submitted to him. It made no difference; he made an appointment with the Minister of Finance for eight o'clock in the evening. "It will be time enough to go to the ball at ten o'clock," said he. At eight o'clock, therefore, they were both scrutinizing the budget. About midnight there was a

scratching at the door of the cabinet; it is a page dispatched by the Empress, who sends word that the ball is charming, and that the Emperor is impatiently waited for. "All in good time," replied he, in a loud voice. "Tell the Empress that I am at work with the Minister of Finance. We are coming." An hour after another message; the same answer. He continues to work. The clock strikes.

"What o'clock is that?"

"One o'clock, Sire."

"Ah, good God! It is too late for us to go to the ball: what do you think about it?"

"That is quite my view."

"Then let us each go to bed. Well," added he gayly at the moment when the Minister was leaving him, "many people think that we pass our lives amusing ourselves, and, as the Orientals say, eating sweetmeats. Good-night, Minister!"

The Corps Diplomatique. Masson.

When Napoleon had finished his second round he made a bow of the head to dismiss the members of the Corps Diplomatique, who, without leaving the Tuileries, found in the apartment of the Grand Marshal a dinner presided over by that great officer, and served by the livery servants of the Emperor. This repast was magnificent in a different way from that of the Emperor himself; and at least the gourmands, who, when they were ad-

mitted to the table of the First Consul, complained that "it began too late and left off too early," were able to take their ease. The table was laid for five-and-twenty persons, and the *menu* comprised four soups, two dishes of beef, four removes, twenty-four *entrées*, eight roasts, twenty *entremets*, four great pieces, twelve *hors-d'œuvre*, and four salads. For dessert, four cheeses, twelve bonbons, twelve dishes of small pastry, twelve compôtes, and twelve fruits. After the coffee twenty-four ices.

As for the Emperor, he has his regular Sunday dinner, which is a family dinner. Around the table, placed as usual in one of the *salons*, and served on this day on silver gilt, are placed three arm-chairs, for himself, for the Empress, and for Madame Mère, and chairs to the necessary number for the princes and princesses. All, without exception, take at the Emperor's table their family rank; that is to say, the order of age. Under no circumstances has this rule been set aside, and it may be seen, from what follows, what historical value is to be given to those very ingenious and theatrical legends on the quarrels which broke out between the princesses on the subject of their rank. On all occasions the princesses take their places after the Empress, to the left of the Emperor, and in the following order: first, Julie, wife

The Sunday dinner. Order of sitting. Masson.

of Joseph; then Hortense, wife of Louis; and Catherine, wife of Jerome. Next, the first of the sisters, Eliza; then Pauline; and, last, Caroline, even when she is Grand Duchess of Berg, and even when she is Queen of Naples. At the Emperor's right, Madame Mère, then Joseph, Louis, Jerome, the Prince of Piombino (Bacciochi), Borghese; and, lastly, Murat. Murat complains, but if his complaints are handed over to the register of the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, it is because the decisions of the Emperor, decisions from which there is no appeal, are reported to him in terms which cannot be forgotten. After the last of the sisters of the Emperor sit the Princess Auguste and the Princess Stéphanie; after the last of the brothers-in-law, Eugène. The rule is unchangeable, and Napoleon only set it aside during a very short time, and in favor of Stéphanie de Beauharnais alone, at the time when he was pleased to adopt her. Auguste never had any private honors, no doubt because he did not come to Paris till after the divorce.

Napoleon's family at dinner. Masson.

After dinner, from 1804 to 1810, the Emperor habitually remained in one of the *salons* to chat with his mother, his sisters, and the Empress. It was, in fact, altogether exceptional for any stranger, though he were a prince, to be admitted to interfere with this intimacy. Stéphanie and

Eugène, having been adopted, were of the family; the Prince of Baden was connected; the Grand Duke of Würtzburg, later, was the uncle of Maria Louisa. It appears that the Prince of Bavaria, and at a later time the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemburg, may have been invited; but still with these three sovereigns the Emperor had family ties.

It was a favor without precedent when Bernadotte and his wife, Désirée Clary, were admitted into it on September 25th, 1810. It was the eve of the departure of Bernadotte for Sweden, and it involved a long conference between the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, the Grand Marshal, and the Grand Chamberlain to draw up the etiquette for such an unprecedented occasion. Although looked on as a Marshal of the Empire, and styled Prince of Pontecorvo, Bernadotte came in Swedish costume. It was not till after dinner, in the apartment of the Empress, that he was presented as the Prince Royal of Sweden, in the first place to Maria Louisa, and then to the Emperor. For the Princess of Pontecorvo the forms had been shortened, and she had been presented after the parade. From this example one may judge of the upset which such a favor produced in the ordinary habits; for no less than two orders of the Emperor, and at least two plans of the ceremony, drawn up

Bernadotte an exception. Masson.

with infinite detail, were necessary to render the reception possible.

The Emperor received standing upright before the fireplace, in which till very late in the season a roaring fire was kept up; this he was always knocking with the heel of his shoes. His clear eyes, of a blue which changed color, at times almost black, when he concentrated his attention, at other moments of steely gray, when seized with emotion or anger, so bright then that they seemed like molten metal, fastened attentively on the person who addressed him, whom he heard to the end. He then put some short questions, at times not over-courteous, if it was a woman. He had not learned the art of talking to ladies, and was not happy in his manner with them: some got angry and answered sharply. He bore them no grudge, and was amused at it. It was very unusual for a woman to leave his *salon* without carrying away with her, in addition to the favor which she had come to ask, some sharpness of feeling against him who had granted it to her. As to men, some are mentioned who, as the result of an audience, became devoted to him. They were rare.

Napoleon's manner when receiving. Masson.

There was never any familiarity—he kept to his rank; to show that the audience was finished, in most cases a sign of the head, sometimes a glance at the list on the table, sufficed. He never gave

his hand. A century ago shaking hands was a mark of equality, and was scarcely ever used by a superior to an inferior; and as to kissing hands, which the Bourbons re-established, Napoleon thought it a little degrading. There were, therefore, none of those external marks so freely used later, which became so commonplace. On a single occasion, it seems, his feelings carried him away. It was in 1815, at the beginning of the Hundred Days. When M. Molé entered his *salon*—that Molé for whom he proved his confidence and personal esteem by appointing him, at twenty-nine years of age, Councillor of State and Director-General of Bridges and Roads, at thirty-three years Grand Judge and Minister of Justice, reserving for him the succession to Cambacérès, Arch-Chancellor and Grand Dignitary—on that day then he went up to Molé, pressed his hand and embraced him. It is, we may believe, one of the few cases where, in one of his own palaces, he thus put aside his Imperial dignity. "Otherwise," as he said, "he would have been clapped on the shoulder every day."

Unusual reception of M. Molé. Masson.

1796. "Good God!" Napoleon said in Italy, whilst residing at Montebello, "how rare men are. There are eighteen millions in Italy, and I have with difficulty found two, Dandolo and Melzi."

"Europe!" Napoleon exclaimed at Passeriano,

"Europe is but a molehill; there never have existed mighty empires, there never have occurred great revolutions, save in the East, where live six hundred millions of men—the cradle of all religions, the birthplace of all metaphysics."

"My title of nobility dates from the battle of Montenotte," said Napoleon to the Emperor of Austria.

Napoleon sent the celebrated picture of St. Jerome from the Duke of Parma's gallery to the Museum at Paris. The Duke, to save his work of art, offered Napoleon two hundred thousand dollars, which the conqueror refused to take, saying: "The sum which he offers us will soon be spent; but the possession of such a masterpiece at Paris will adorn that capital for ages, and give birth to similar exertions of genius."

Anecdotes of Napoleon, from Table Talk.

Napoleon had no tendencies to gallantry. Madame de Staël once said to him: "It is reported that you are not very partial to the ladies."

"I am very fond of my wife, Madame," was his laconic reply.

It was proposed to make Napoleon Grand Elector, with a revenue of one million dollars. "Can you conceive," he exclaimed, "that a man of the least talent or honor would humble himself to accept an office, the duties of which are merely to fatten like a pig on so many millions a year?"

1800. "I did not usurp the crown," said Napoleon, proudly. "It was lying in the mire. I picked it up. The people placed it on my head."

D. Appleton & Co., Publishers, New York, have very generously consented to permit me to print the following letters which are taken from their volume, "New Letters of Napoleon I.," printed in 1897:

To Jerome Napoleon, King of Westphalia.

Schönbrunn, 17th July, 1809.

Letter to Jerome Napoleon

I have seen an order of the day of yours, which makes you the laughing-stock of Germany, Austria, and France. Have you not a single friend about you, to tell you a few truths? You are a King, and brother to an Emperor—absurd qualifications in war-time. You should be a soldier, and once more a soldier, and then again a soldier! You should have neither Minister, nor Diplomatic Body, nor display. You should bivouac with your advance-guard, be on horse-back day and night, march with your advance-guard, so as to secure information. Otherwise you had better stop at home in your seraglio.

You make war like a satrap. Did you learn that from me? Good God!—from me, who, with an army of 200,000 men, lead my own skirmishers,

without allowing even Champagny to follow me, leaving him at Munich or Vienna?

What has happened? That everybody is dissatisfied with you! That Keinmayer, with his 12,000 men, has made game of you and your absurd pretensions, has concealed his movements from you, and has fallen upon Junot! This would not have happened if you had been with your advance-guard, and had directed the movements of your army from that position. Then you would have been aware of his movements, and you would have pursued him, either by going into Bohemia, or by following in his rear. You have a great deal of pretension, a certain amount of wit, a few good qualities—all ruined by your conceit. You are extremely presumptuous, and you have no knowledge whatever. If the armistice had not been concluded at this juncture, Keinmayer would have attacked you, after having driven Junot out of the running.

Letter to Jerome, continued.

Cease making yourself ridiculous; send the Diplomatic Body back to Cassel. Have no baggage and no retinue. Keep one table only—your own. Make war like a young soldier who longs for fame and glory, and try to be worthy of the rank you have gained, and of the esteem of France and of Europe, whose eyes are upon you. And have sense enough, by God, to write and speak after a proper fashion!

To Comte Fouché, Minister of Police.

Schönbrunn, 6th August, 1809.

I wrote yesterday to inform you that I would give definite orders about the Pope, when I was sure of his whereabouts, and to give you directions to keep close watch on Cardinal Pacca, who is a schemer and a rogue, and to lodge him at Fenestrelle. As for the Pope's permanent residence, what objection would there be to bringing him close to Paris, and placing him, for instance, in one of my apartments at Fontainebleau? I would bring such Cardinals as are my French and Italian subjects to Paris, and leave them there in freedom. It would be an advantage to have the Head of the Church in Paris, where he cannot cause any inconvenience. If he makes a sensation, that will only be a novelty. At Fontainebleau I would have him served, and waited upon, by my own people. By insensible degrees, his fanaticism would die down. Tell me your opinion of these views.

Letter to Fouché.

To Comte Fouché, Minister of Police.

Schönbrunn, 22nd August, 1809.

You ask how the Pope is to be treated at Savona. Give orders that he is to be allowed every liberty; that he is to give benedictions, and say masses, as much as he chooses; that the people are to be prevented from coming about him in too

great numbers; that all arrivals are to be watched, and that no letter from, or addressed to, him, or any member of his suite, is to be allowed to go or come. Make arrangements as to this, with Mons. de Lavallette, and the Minister of Finance. See Mons. Aldini, and have the necessary measures taken in Italy. Forbid any Cardinal to come to Savona, except the Cardinal of Genoa, to whose coming there is no objection, as he belongs to the neighborhood; but do not give this permission to any other. Have the Pope's former confessor, who is a rascal, arrested at Rome, and shut up at Fenestrelle. I have given Prince Borghese orders to send a Colonel of Gendarmes to Savona, and to keep a garrison of from 500 to 600 men in the citadel. Thanks to these precautions, the Pope will be safe, whatever happens. I am having him lodged in the Bishop's Palace, where he will be very comfortable. Write to the Prefect that he is not to let him want for anything he may wish for.

Another concerning the Pope.

Postscript. Write everywhere, so that it may not be mentioned in the Gazettes.

To Comte Fouché, Minister of Police.

Schönbrunn, 23rd September, 1809.

Maret is sending you what you ask for. I repeat that, whether in peace or in war, I attach the greatest importance to having one or two hundred

millions' worth of notes. This is a political operation. Once the house of Austria is shorn of its paper currency, it will not be able to make war against me. You can set up the workshops where you please—in the Castle of Vincennes, for instance, from which the troops would be withdrawn, and which no one would be allowed to enter. This stringent rule would be accounted for by the presence of State prisoners. Or you can put them in any other place you choose. But it is urgent and important that your closest attention should be given to this matter. If I had destroyed that paper money, I should not have had this war.

Another to Fouché.

To Marshal Bessières, Duc d'Istrie, Commanding the Army of the North.

Paris, 20th November, 1809.

I am pained to observe that you do not proceed with the necessary firmness. You have the chief command, and you ought to overcome all difficulties. There are guns at Lillo, at Antwerp, at Bergen-op-Zoom, at Breda, and at Batz. You have fifteen or sixteen companies of gunners, but to get these you must withdraw everyone you have on the defensive. These sixteen companies must make up 900 men. It is clear that if you want to line Antwerp, and all the banks of the Scheldt, with men and war material, as though the enemy were

Letter to Bessières.

on the offensive, you will not come to any result at all. Counting the Dutch, you have 30,000 men, apart from 30,000 National Guards, who can protect your rear, and occupy Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom, and all the Dutch fortresses. With your flotilla, you should be able to land 30,000 men in one day. You hold command of all the Dutch fortresses and troops, of my fleet, my arsenals, and my troops. Everything you do will be well done, provided you win and that quickly. Act swiftly and vigorously, without "buts," and "ifs," and "fors." Instead of writing to the Minister of War, give orders, and let me soon hear that the Sloe is rid of the enemy. The special affection I bear you has induced me to give you a chance of winning this glory. Be firm, show wisdom and decision. If there are any evil-disposed persons in the Dutch army, have them arrested. If the King hinders you, don't listen to him. Overcome all obstacles. The only thing I should blame in you would be pusillanimity or irresolution. I shall sanction everything that is vigorous, spirited, and politic.

To M. de Rémusat, Prefect of the Police.

Paris, 13th February, 1810.

As the opera "The Death of Abel" is ready mounted, I consent to its being played; but in future I intend no opera shall be given without my

order. If the last management has left the new one my written permission, it will be in order, not otherwise. The former management deferred to me, not only as to receiving works, but as to selecting them. Generally speaking, I disapprove of the production of any work founded on Holy Scripture. These subjects should be left to the Church. The chamberlain who has charge of the theatrical business will immediately make this known to the authors so that they may devote themselves to other subjects. The Ballet of "Autumnus and Pomona" is a cold and tasteless allegory. That of the "Rape of the Sabines" is historic and more suitable. Only mythological and historical ballets are to be given—never anything allegorical. I desire four ballets may be produced this year. If Gardel is not in a position to do it, you are to find other persons who will. Besides the "Death of Abel," I should desire another historical ballet, more apposite to present circumstances than the "Rape of the Sabines."

Letter to M. de Rémusat on the opera.

To M. de Champagny, Duc de Cadore, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Trianon, 18th August, 1810.

Write to General Rapp, and inform him of my displeasure, first of all, because he had no business to give an official dinner; secondly, because he

ought to have given the Russian Consul precedence over the Consul of Prussia, and every other; and lastly, because it would have been far simpler to have invited no one but his own officers to dinner.

Letter to M. de Champagny.

Tell him I am specially displeased with his letter, because it fails in courtesy to a great Power, which is allied with France. I desire you will let Caulaincourt know of my displeasure, when you write to him. You will also go and see Mons. de Kourakin, and make him aware of it. Tell him I was on the point of recalling General Rapp; that, however wrong any Russian Consul had been, no letter should ever have been written in such a tone, and that the act was that of a madman.

To Prince Borghese, Governor-General of the Transalpine Departments.

Paris, 2nd January, 1811.

To Prince Borghese.

You have set no watch upon the Pope, and the consequence is, that he corresponds with anyone he chooses. I gave you orders yesterday, and I repeat them to-day, to deprive the Pope of all means of correspondence, and even should that become necessary, to shut him up in the Citadel of Savona. Have such of his servants as are known to have passed out his letters, or helped him in his work of preaching disorder and insubordination, forthwith arrested.

To Prince Borghese, Governor-General of the Transalpine Departments.

Paris, 15th January, 1811.

I have your letter of 9th January. I am glad to observe you have taken the steps I prescribed, to prevent the Pope distilling his poison into the Empire. The sum of 15,000 francs is perhaps too small. I give you liberty to arrange matters, so that he shall not suffer, and to raise his expenditure to 100,000 or 150,000 francs. Do not allow him an external sign of consideration, but furnish him with an abundance of all necessaries, so that no one may be able to suppose him to be in any discomfort.

Another, the Pope's allowance.

I conclude the Bishop of Savona has started for Paris, and that you have had all the Pope's papers seized.

To M. Market, Duc de Bassano, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Paris, 9th February, 1812.

I beg you will make my minister at Cassel acquainted with the decree which provides that every insult to my soldiers, in the territory held by the Grande Armée, shall be laid before a military court, for sentence. I conclude you have received this decree; let it also be communicated to Mons. de St. Marsan.

To the Duc de Bassano concerning Brunswick

My Minister at Cassel must also let it be known that I am exceedingly displeased with the town of Brunswick, and that the very next time the town is guilty of an offence, I shall put it beyond the pale of my protection, and have so severe an example made of it, that the posterity of the inhabitants will remember it a thousand years hence.

To General Savary, Duc de Rovigo, Minister of Police.

Antwerp, 30th September, 1811.

To Gen. Savary concerning the Queen of Naples.

You are not to mix yourself up with the Queen of Naples' concerns. Let her do as she chooses. The less you talk to her the better; conversation with her must be mischievous, because you are ignorant of my objects. You will therefore show her all proper respect, and you will keep quiet. Generally speaking all diplomatic conversations are very harmful. You had one with Campochiaro —what good did it do? It would have been far better to have had none at all, or only the very slightest. Let this be a rule to you—the less you talk with Foreign Ministers, and the fewer Ambassadors you have at your table, the better.

I think I have already informed you that you did wrong to write to Switzerland about the Comte de Gottorp. You do not know my intentions; I have not informed you of them; and you have

therefore exposed yourself to the danger of giving my Minister instructions opposed to those sent him by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Once the Comte de Gottorp was outside France, he was no business of yours. You might have warned the Minister for Foreign Affairs, but you should not have taken anything upon yourself. When a Minister meddles with what does not concern him, he upsets the whole Administration. It is not regular for you to give a single instruction to my Ministers abroad.

I know that Madame de Chevreuse has passed through Paris. I cannot conceive how my orders —which are that the lady in question is to remain forty leagues away from Paris—have been disobeyed, nor how you can have permitted such an oversight. I desire this may not happen again. I have made you aware that my system, as regards the exiles, is to take no more notice of them, and not to confer importance upon them, by perpetual interference in their business.

Concerning Madame de Chevreuse.

As for the licenses, I am heartily convinced you are taken in by the schemers. This is the tendency of my Ministers, whenever they have to do with agents of this sort, who are a disgrace to the Administration. The whole system must be given up, for, carried on as it is, it offers more drawbacks than advantages.

I have received the report you have sent me, from the Police Commissary at Boulogne, as to Dunkirk. I have never come across so loquacious and bumptious a man as this Commissary. He has been with me for over an hour, teaching me all about finance, exchange, general administration—and wrong at every point. Such an official is very far removed from a Villiers, and from police agents of the real sort. Loquacity and presumption are qualities the very reverse of those necessary to a good Police Commissary. I believe he is zealous, indeed, but he does his work badly. The smugglers are not watched at Dunkirk, they are increasing in the town. It is this Commissary's duty to keep order, but he chattered some story to me—I know not what—to explain that my orders on this point ought not to be executed. So stupid is this Commissary that when I was anchored at Boulogne, he allowed the smugglers to go out of Wimereux. When I remonstrated he said very foolish things to me. Give orders that no smuggler is to leave Wimereux, without warning Rear Admiral Baste. The Police Commissary at Boulogne has a great deal of power. He should be a man who unites great prudence with great dexterity—very different qualities from those possessed by the present Commissary.

Napoleon's opinion of police.

The Police Commissary at Flushing is, I think,

related to Real. He is very young, and everyone agrees that his lack of knowledge and activity renders him perfectly useless.

Concerning conditions in Paris.

Stir up the police in Paris; order is very badly kept, and the public is beginning to notice the loss of Dubois' activity. Women of bad character crowd the public squares, and fresh houses of ill-fame have been opened. Put a stop to the boldness of these wretched creatures, and take steps to diminish the evil, instead of allowing it to increase. Do not leave Pasquier in ignorance of the fact, that public report in Paris has it, that the police does not keep such good order as it did under his predecessor. You need not tell him this as my opinion, for that would discourage a magistrate for whom I have a regard; at the same time you must warn him, so that he may use more energetic measures.

To Prince Eugène Napoleon, Viceroy of Italy, in Chief Command of the Grande Armée.

Paris, 28th January, 1813.

To Eugene, dismissing the Duc d'Abrantes.

I have your letter of 21st January. You can dismiss the Duke of Abrantes—that will be one encumbrance the less for the army; and indeed he is a man who would not be of the slightest use to you. Let him know that he is no longer employed with the army.

To General Savary, Duc de Rovigo, Minister of Police.

Dresden, 7th August, 1813.

To Gen. Savary, banishing the Duchesse d'Abrantes.

I approve of your making an arrangement with the Duchesse d'Abrantes, as to some country house, whither she shall retire, and live in future. You will inform her that as, being the wife of the Governor of Paris, she has chosen to misbehave herself, and so to embroil her family affairs, that she has ruined herself, and brought her children to starvation, it is time for me to put an end to this state of things, and for her to drop out of public notice.

To the Prince de Neufchatel, Major-General of the Grande Armée.

Dresden, 24th June, 1813.

Summary method with the press.

Here is a very extraordinary article out of the *Journal de Leipsic*. Send it to the officer in command, that he may get an explanation of it. Let him have the gazetteer arrested on the spot, brought before a court-martial, and shot, if there is the smallest evidence of evil intention.

To Comte de Rémusat, First Chamberlain, Superintendent of Theatres.

Dresden, 12th August, 1813.

I send you a statement of the gratuities I will allow the actors of the Comédie Française who

travelled to Dresden. This statement reaches a total of 111,500 francs; you will have the gratuities paid out of the Treasury of Theatres:

To De Rémusat, salaries of actors.

Mons. Fleury	10,000	francs.
Mons. Talma	8,000	"
MM. Dresprez, St. Prix, St. Phal, Baptiste Cadet, Armand, and Vigny	6,000	"
MM. Michot, Thénard, Michelot	4,000	"
Mons. Barbier	3,000	"
Mlle. Mars	10,000	"
Mlles. Emile Contat and Bourgoin	6,000	"
Mlle. Georges	8,000	"
Mlles. Thénard and Mezeray	4,000	"
Mons. Maignien	2,000	"
MM. Fréchot, Colson, Combes, Boun-lon, and Mongellas	500	"

To King Joseph.

Paris, 7th January, 1814.

I have your letter. It is too complex in its nature to suit my present position. Here is the question, in a sentence: France is invaded, all Europe has taken up arms against France, and more especially against me. I do not need your resignation, because I do not want Spain for myself, nor do I want to have it at my disposal; but neither will I concern myself with the affairs of

that country, except for the purpose of obtaining peace there, and making my army available for use.

To the King of Spain.

What do you mean to do? Do you desire to rally to the throne as a French Prince? You have my affection, and your appanage, and you will be my subject, as a Prince of the Blood. In that case, you must do as I do, speak out clearly, write me a plain letter, which I can have printed, receive all authority from me, and prove your zeal for me and for the King of Rome, and your friendly feeling for the Empress's Regency.

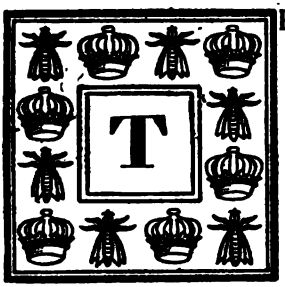
Is this impossible to you? Have you not sufficient good sense to do it? Then you must retire to some country house, forty leagues from Paris, and live in obscurity. If I live, you will dwell there in peace. If I die, you will be killed, or arrested. You will be useless to me, to the family, to your daughters, to France; but you will do me no harm, and cause me no inconvenience. Choose promptly, and make up your mind. All feelings of sentiment or enmity are vain, and out of season.

NAPOLEON: THE SOLDIER

1790 - 1815

NAPOLEON: THE SOLDIER

1779-1815



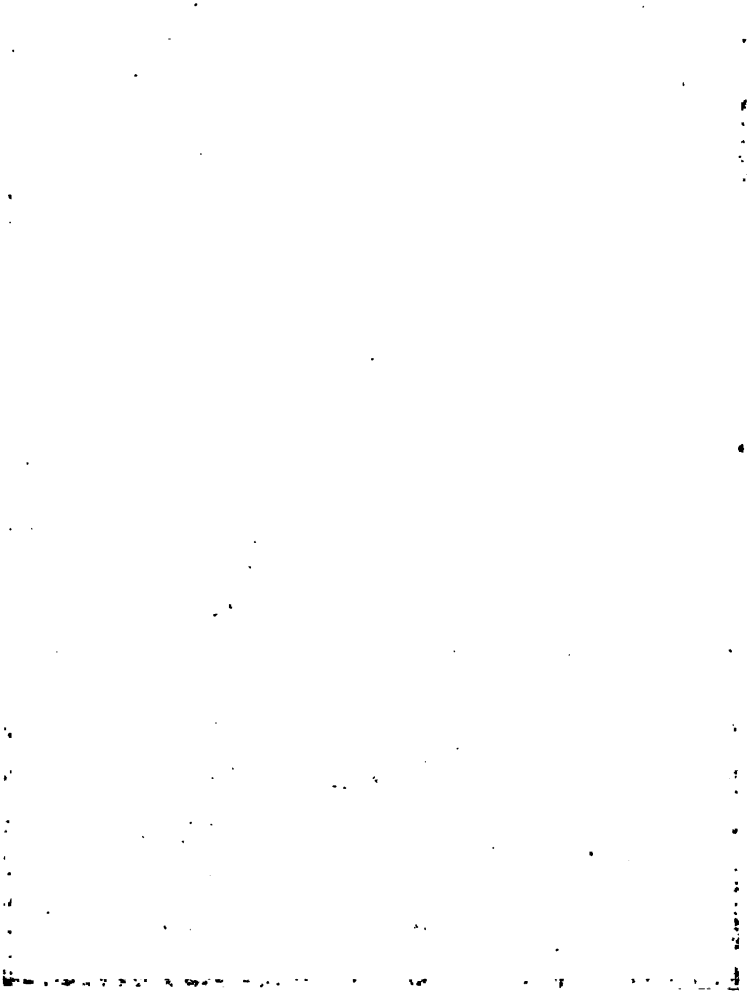
THE time of Napoleon was that of the French Revolution, that is, of a period of incessant war, when the boundaries of the States were suddenly shifted; when France rushed into a strife with old Europe; when ideas portending immense changes in the estate of man came into fierce conflict with the feudalism and kingship of the past, and when the military art was, so to speak, given wings, under the new condition that had become developed. Supreme genius, in such an age of trouble, rose by its own force to the heights of fortune, and for years amazed and affrighted mankind. Napoleon's faculties were first absorbed in war, and war was his chosen and peculiar sphere. As a leader of armies he grandly displayed most of the intellectual and moral qualities which were the groundwork, as it were, of his character; and we trace them in his career from Montenotte to Waterloo. He was pre-eminent for his splendid conceptions in

The time of Napoleon. Morris.

war; for his mastery of the situation before him; for his administrative and organizing power; for his capacity to see how to move with effect on the theatre of operations, and on the field of battle; for his command over the troops he directed; for his readiness and resource at grave conjunctures. It is unnecessary to say what he was as a conqueror; what his daring and audacity were; how he marched from the Adige to the Nile, and from Madrid to Moscow; how he confronted the world in arms for almost useless provinces; how wonderful he was in deceiving an enemy; how he shed the blood of his soldiers like water, and treated them as mere pawns in his game, and yet how he won their hearts, and attracted their sympathies. Taken altogether Napoleon was, by far, the first of the masters of war in the modern world; in great military combinations he has no equal; his movements were at once scientific, grand, and methodical; he carried out the principles of his art with an originality and brilliancy never seen again; and he was unrivalled in the difficult tasks of reaching the communications and rear of an enemy, of manœuvring between divided armies, of attacking, and beating them in detail, and above all, perhaps, in the genius of stratagem.

Napoleon as a conqueror. Morris.

Napoleon was asked how many men he supposed had lost their lives on the Thirteenth Vendémiaire.



NAPOLEON

Engraved in 1841 by Louis, after a painting made in 1837 by Delaroche, now in the Standish collection, and called the "Snuff-box."

[illegible] for [illegible] the [illegible] battle; [illegible] ected; for [illegible] as as a [illegible] were; [illegible] and from [illegible] the world [illegible] won [illegible] then [illegible] won [illegible] in [illegible] mili[illegible] [illegible] again [illegible] of [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible] 1841 by [illegible], after a [illegible] made in [illegible] in the Stanfish collection, and [illegible] the [illegible] Snuff box."

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He replied, "Very few, considering the circumstances. Of the people there were about seventy or eighty killed, and two hundred and fifty wounded; of the Conventionalists about thirty killed, and two hundred and fifty wounded. The reason so few were killed was, that after the first two discharges, I made the troops load with powder only, which had the effect of frightening the Parisians, and answered as well as killing them would have done. I made the troops at first fire ball, because to a rabble who are ignorant of the effect of firearms, it is the worst possible policy to fire powder only in the beginning. For the populace after the first discharge, hearing a great noise, are a little frightened, but looking around them and seeing nobody killed or wounded pluck up their spirits, begin immediately to despise you, become doubly outrageous, and rush on without fear, and it is necessary to kill ten times the number that it would have been if ball had been used at first. With a rabble everything depends upon the first impressions made upon them. If they receive a discharge of firearms, and perceive the killed and wounded falling amongst them, a panic seizes them and they take to their heels instantly. Therefore, when it is necessary to fire at all, it ought to be done with ball at first. It is a mistaken humanity to use powder only at that moment, and instead

His account of the day of the Sections. O'Meara.

of saving the lives of men, ultimately causes an unnecessary waste of human blood."

His career fairly commenced with his quelling the revolt of the sections. True, his conduct at the siege of Toulon had caused him to be spoken of favorably as an under officer, but it was with unfeigned surprise that the Abbé Siéyès, Rewbell, Letourneur, Roger-Ducos, and General Moulins saw him introduced to them by Barras, as the commander he had chosen for the troops that were to defend the Convention. Said General Moulins to him, "You are aware that it is only by the powerful recommendation of citizen Barras that we confide to you so important a post?" "I have not asked for it," drily replied the young lieutenant, "and if I accept it, it will be because, after a close examination, I am confident of success. I am different from other men; I never undertake anything I cannot carry through." This sally caused the members of the Convention to bite their lips, for the implied sarcasm stung each in his turn. "But do you know," said Rewbell, "that this may be a very serious affair—that the sections——" "Very well," fiercely interrupted the young Bonaparte, "I will make a serious affair of it, and the sections shall become tranquil." He had seen Louis XVI. put on the red cap, and show himself from the palace of the Tuileries to the mob,

Napoleon, the defender of the Convention. Headley.

and, unable to restrain his indignation at the sight, exclaimed to his companion, Bourrienne: "What madness! he should have blown four or five hundred of them into the air, and the rest would have taken to their heels."

It was not without misgivings that such generals as Massena, Rampon, Augereau, and others, saw a young man of slender frame, but twenty-seven years old, assume the command of the army. But his independent manner, firm tone, and above all, the sudden activity he infused into every department by his example, soon gave them to understand that it was no ordinary leader whose orders they were to obey. From this brilliant campaign, he went up by rapid strides to First Consul, and finally Emperor of France.

Misgivings of the generals as to his youth. Headley.

One great secret of his success is to be found in the union of two striking qualities of mind, which are usually opposed to each other. He possessed an imagination as ardent, and a mind as impetuous, as the most rash and chivalric warrior; and yet a judgment as cool and correct as the ablest tactician. His mind moved with the rapidity of lightning, and yet with the precision and steadiness of naked reason. He rushed to his final decision as if he overleaped all the intermediate space, and yet he embraced the entire ground, and every detail in his passage. In short he could de-

cide quickly and correctly too. It was the union of these two qualities that gave Bonaparte such immense power over his adversaries. His plans were more skilfully and deeply laid than theirs, and yet perfected before theirs were begun. He broke up the counsels of other men by the execution of his own.

His power of combination was unrivalled. The most extensive plans, involving the most complicated movements, were laid down with the clearness of a map in his mind; while the certainty and precision with which they were all brought to bear on one great point, took the ablest generals of Europe by surprise. His mind seemed vast enough for the management of the globe, and not so much encircled everything, as contained everything. It was hard to tell whether he exhibited more skill in conducting a campaign, or in managing a single battle. With a power of generalization seldom equalled, his perceptive faculties, that let no detail escape him, were equally rare.

His mental grasp in campaigns. Headley.

As a military leader he has no superior in ancient or modern times. He marched his victorious troops successively into almost every capital of Europe. Meeting and overwhelming in turn the armies of Prussia, Austria, Russia, and England, he for a long time waged a successful war against them all combined; and, exhausted at last by his

very victories, rather than by their conquests, he fell before superior numbers, which in a protracted contest must always prevail. His first campaign in Italy and the campaign of Austerlitz, are, perhaps, the most glorious he ever conducted. The first astonished the world, and fixed his fortune. In less than a year, he overthrew four of the finest armies of Europe. With fifty-five thousand men, he had beaten more than two hundred thousand Austrians—taken prisoners nearly double the number of his whole army and killed half as many as the entire force he had at any one time in the field. The tactics he adopted in this campaign, and which he never after departed from, correspond singularly with the character of his mind. Instead of following up what was considered the scientific mode of conducting a campaign and a battle, he fell back on his own genius, and made a system of his own, adapted to the circumstance in which he was placed. Instead of opposing wing to wing, centre to centre, and column to column, he rapidly concentrated his entire strength on separate portions in quick succession. Hurling his combined force now on one wing, and now another, and now throwing it with the weight and terror of an avalanche on the centre, he crushed each in its turn; or cutting the army in two, destroyed its communication and broke it in pieces.

His military genius. Headley.

And this was the way his mind worked. He concentrated all his gigantic powers on one project at a time, until it stood complete before him, and then turned them unexhausted on another. He grappled with and mastered each in turn—penetrated and dismissed it with a rapidity that astonished his most intimate friends.

His bravery at Paris, Lodi, Arcola, and Wagram. Headley.

He was brave as courage itself, and never scrupled to expose his life when necessary to success. The daring he exhibited in the revolt of the sections, when, with five thousand soldiers, he boldly withstood forty thousand of the National Guard and mob of Paris, he carried with him to his fall. At the terrible passage of Lodi, where, though General-in-Chief, he was the second man across the bridge—at Arcola, where he stood, with the standard in his hand, in the midst of a perfect tempest of balls and grape-shot; and at Wagram, where he rode on his white steed, backward and forward, for a whole hour, before his shivering lines, to keep them steady in the dreadful fire that thinned their ranks and swept the ground they stood upon—he evinced the heroic courage that he possessed, and which was a part of his very nature. This, with his stirring eloquence, early gave him great command over his soldiers. They loved him to the last, and stood by the Republican general, and the proud Em-

peror, with equal affection. Bonaparte was eloquence itself. His proclamations to his soldiers evince not only his knowledge of the human heart, but his power to move it at his will. Whether causing one of the articles in Siéyès's constitution to be rejected by his withering sarcasm; or rousing his soldiers to the loftiest pitch of enthusiasm by his irresistible appeals; or carrying away those conversing with him by his brilliant thoughts and forcible elocution, he exhibits the highest capacities of an orator. His appeals to the courage of his soldiers, and his distribution of honors, with so much pomp and display, perfectly bewildered and dazzled them, so that in battle it seemed to be their only thought how they should exhibit the greatest daring, and perform the most desperate deeds. Thus, soon after the battle of Castiglione, and just before the battle of Rivoli, he made an example of the Thirty-ninth and Eighty-fifth regiments of Vaubois Division for having given way to a panic, and nearly lost him the battle. Arranging these two regiments in a circle he addressed them in the following language: "Soldiers, I am displeased with you; you have shown neither discipline, nor valor, nor firmness. You have allowed yourselves to be chased from positions where a handful of brave men would have stopped an army. Soldiers of the Thirty-ninth and Eighty-

His appeals to his soldiers Headley.

fifth, you are no longer French soldiers. Chief of the Staff, let it be written on their standards, '*They are no longer of the Army of Italy.*'"

Nothing could exceed the stunning effect with which these words fell on those brave men. They forgot their discipline and the order of their ranks, and, bursting into grief, filled the air with their cries—and rushing from their ranks, crowded with most beseeching looks and voices around their general, and begged to be saved from such a disgrace, saying, "Lead us once more into battle, and see if we are not of the Army of Italy." Bonaparte, wishing only to implant feelings of honor in his troops, appeared to relent, and, addressing them some kind words, promised to wait to see how they should behave. In a few days he did see the brave fellows go into battle and rush on death as if going to a banquet, and prove themselves, even in his estimation, worthy to be in the Army of Italy. It was by such reproaches for ungallant behavior, and by rewards for bravery, that he instilled a love of glory that made them irresistible in combat. Thus we see the Old Guard, dwindled to a mere handful in that fearful retreat from Russia, close round him as they marched past a battery, and amid the storm of lead that played on their exhausted ranks sing the favorite air, "Where can a father be so well, as in the bosom

Effect of his eloquence on the army. Headley.

of his family." So, also, just before the battle of Austerlitz, in his address to the soldiers, he promised them that he would keep out of danger if they behaved bravely, and burst through the enemy's ranks; but if they did not, he should himself rush into the thickest of the fight. There could not be a stronger evidence of the love and confidence between soldier and general than was evinced by this speech, made on the commencement of one of the greatest battles of his life.

Another cause of his wonderful success was his untiring activity of both mind and body. No victory lulled him into a moment's repose—no luxuries tempted him to ease—and no successes bounded his impetuous desires. Laboring with an intensity and rapidity that accomplished the work of days in hours, he nevertheless seemed crowded to the very limit of human capacity by the vast plans and endless projects that asked and received his attention.

His untiring mental and bodily activity. Headley.

He has been known to dictate to three secretaries at the same time, so rapid were the movements of his mind, and yet so perfectly under his control. He never deferred business for an hour, but did on the spot what then claimed his attention. Nothing but the most iron-like constitution could have withstood these tremendous strains upon it. And, as if nature had determined that

nothing should be wanting to the full development of this wonderful man, as well as no resources withheld from his gigantic plans, she had endowed him with a power of endurance seldom equalled. It was not till after the most intense and protracted mental and physical effort combined, that he gave intimations of being sensible to fatigue.

He is often spoken of as a mere child of fortune; but whoever in this world will possess such powers of mind, and use them with such skill and industry, and has a frame that will stand it, will always be a child of fortune. He allowed nothing to escape his ubiquitous spirit; and whether two or five campaigns were going on in different kingdoms at the same time, they were equally under his control, and their result calculated with wonderful precision.

Not simply a child of Fortune. Headley.

Another striking characteristic of Napoleon, and which contributed much to his success, was self-confidence. He fell back on himself in every emergency, with a faith that was sublime. Where other men sought counsel, he communed with himself alone; and where kings and emperors called anxiously on the statesmen and chieftains around their thrones for help, he summoned to his aid his own mighty genius. This did not result from vanity and conceit, but from the consciousness of power.

He not only took the measure and capabilities of every man that approached him, but he *knew* he saw beyond their farthest vision, and hence could not but rely on himself, instead of others.

This self-confidence, which in other men would have been downright madness, in him was wisdom. It was the first striking trait in his character he exhibited. At the siege of Toulon, a mere boy, he curled his lip at the science of the oldest generals in the army, and offered his own plan for the reduction of the town, with an assurance that astonished them. In quelling the revolt of the sections, this sublime self-reliance utterly confounded the heads of the Convention. If it had ended here, it might have been called the rashness and ardor of youth crowned with unexpected success. But throughout his after career; in these long protracted efforts in which intellect and genius always triumph—we ever find him standing alone, calling none but himself to his aid. Inexperienced and young, he took command of the weak and ill-conditioned Army of Italy, and instead of seeking the advice of his government and his generals, so that he might be screened in case of defeat, where defeat seemed inevitable, he seemed to exult that he was at last alone, and almost to forget the danger that surrounded him, in his joy of having a free and open field for his daring spirit. His fame and

His absolute self-confidence Headley.

after-fortune all rested on his success and conduct in this outset of his career; yet he voluntarily placed himself in a position where the result, however disastrous it might be, would be chargeable on him alone. He flung the military tactics of Europe to the winds.

Napoleon in battle of Arcola. Las Cases.

Several anecdotes are related of the danger to which Bonaparte was personally exposed during the three days' conflict at Arcola. Las Cases, mentioning the event, says, "Here Napoleon in person tried a last effort: he seized a standard, rushed towards the bridge, and there fixed the ensign. The column he led had half cleared the bridge when the flank fire caused their attack to fail. The grenadiers at the head of the column, abandoned by the rear, hesitated, and were induced to retire; but they would not abandon their general: they seized him by the arms, as well as his hair and clothes, and dragged him along in their flight, amidst the dead, dying, fire and smoke. The general-in-chief was also precipitated into a marsh, where he sank up to the middle; *he was then in the midst of the enemy;* but the French perceiving their general was not among them, the cry was heard of "Soldiers! forward to rescue the General!" These brave men, instantly turning, rushed upon the enemy, driving them *beyond the bridge*, and Napoleon was saved."

Another account states that Bonaparte, urged by his natural impatience, arrived at the foot of the bridge of Arcola with his staff, at the head of General Augereau's division, which he formed, bearing a standard in one hand, and doing his utmost to excite his troops, but without effect, till he recalled to their minds the passage of the bridge of Lodi. Their enthusiasm then beginning to revive, he sprang from his horse, seized a flag, and rushed forward among the enemy's troops, exclaiming, "Follow your General!" The column, not more than thirty paces from the bridge, was instantly in motion, when the dreadful fire from the enemy's artillery mowing down whole ranks, Generals Vignole and Lasnes were wounded, and Muiron, the gallant friend and aide-de-camp of Bonaparte was killed. The staff of the general-in-chief was also overthrown so completely, that Napoleon's horse, with its rider, was precipitated into a swamp, and extricated with great difficulty. However, having succeeded, he remounted, rallied the column, and struck terror into the enemy.

Another account. Labédoyère

"If Napoleon, in his bold and often hazardous actions, seemed to calculate wholly on his good fortune, no person appeared to leave less to accident, in the conception of his plans. No human precaution, which it was possible to adopt, was ever, I believe, neglected or forgotten by Napoleon,

previous to his disastrous campaign at Moscow. He always considered things under every imaginable aspect, and though he never, or scarcely ever, experienced reverses, he was in every enterprise prepared beforehand for whatever misfortune might happen. He had always made up his mind as to the part which it might be necessary for him to adopt, let the result be what it would. This was what he called conceiving a plan. In his actions, he was always very much guided by policy, secret intelligence, and the particular interests of individuals. It cannot be denied that he seemed to entertain a thorough conviction that self-interest is the first and greatest, and perhaps the only spring which moves the heart of man.

Nothing left to chance. Labédoyère.

"Napoleon was fond of mixing with his enemies. He conceived himself possessed of sufficient strength of mind to be able to remain in a state of continual tension, to keep himself constantly on his guard, and defend himself incessantly from the snares and blows of enmity and falsehood. He even conceived that he could turn those attempts to good account."

At the siege of Acre, a shell, thrown by Sir Sidney Smith, fell close at Bonaparte's feet. Two soldiers, who were near the General, seized, and closely embraced him before and behind, thus forming a rampart of their bodies against the

effects of the shell, which exploded and overwhelmed them with sand. Neither of the soldiers was wounded, but both sank into the hole occasioned by the explosion; after which they were raised to the rank of officers.

"I have been the possessor of glorious and valuable relics. I had a sword of Frederick the Great; and the Spaniards presented to me, at the Tuileries, the sword of Francis I. This was a high compliment, and it must have cost them some sacrifice. The Turks and Persians have also sent me arms, which were said to have belonged to Ghengis Khan, Tamerlane, Nadir Shah, and I know not whom; but I attached importance not to the fact, but to the intention."

Napoleon on relics. Las Cases.

I expressed my astonishment that he had not endeavored to keep Frederick's sword. "Why, I had my own," said he, smiling, and gently pinching my ear. He was right; I certainly made a very stupid observation.

"All the great captains of antiquity," continued Napoleon, "and those who in modern times have successfully trodden in their steps, performed vast achievements only by conforming with the rules and principles of the art; that is to say, by correct combinations, and by justly comparing the relation between means and consequences, effects and obstacles. They succeeded only by the strict ob-

servance of these rules, whatever may have been the boldness of their enterprises, or the extent of the advantages gained. They invariably practiced war as a science. Thus they have become our great models, and it is only by closely imitating them that we can hope to approach them."

Napoleon on great captains of antiquity. Las Cases.

"My greatest successes have been ascribed merely to good fortune; and my reverses will no doubt be imputed to my faults. But if I should write an account of my campaigns, it will be seen that, in both cases, my reason and faculties were exercised in conformity with principles."

He remarked that war frequently depended on accident, and that, though a commander ought to be guided by general principles, yet he should never lose sight of anything that may enable him to profit by accidental circumstances. The vulgar call good fortune that which, on the contrary, is produced by the calculations of genius.

He said that artillery really decided the fate of armies and nations; that men now fought with blows of cannon-balls, as they fought with blows of fists; for in battle, as in a siege, the art consisted in making numerous discharges converge on one and the same point; that amidst the conflict, he who had sufficient address to direct a mass of artillery suddenly and unexpectedly upon any point of the enemy's force was sure of the victory.

The value of artillery.

This, he said, had been his grand secret and his plan of tactics.

When Napoleon was actually in the field, he required his soldiers, as far as possible, to find out supplies for themselves, though he supplemented these by immense exactions; and he thoroughly perceived how the progress of husbandry and the great increase of communications and roads which had taken place since the Seven Years' War, would enable armies to move with far more celerity than had been possible in the days of Frederick the Great, the ideal of most of the commanders of his youth.

His armies supply themselves. Morris.

On entering the school of Brienne, Napoleon had attained his tenth year, at which tender period of life he displayed a very marked character. Unlike other boys, the sports of infancy were uncongenial to his opening mind; he courted the shades of solitude, and gloom was familiar to his soul. Impressed with such sentiments, his company was little sought for by his fellow-students, and when he appeared among them his presence rather threw a dampness than otherwise upon their occupations, as he addressed them in the language of admonition, rather than joining them in the pastimes of youth.

At school at Brienne. Labédoyère.

So great was Bonaparte's ardor for improvement, that, even while at school, he never suf-

fered a day to pass with satisfaction to himself, in which he did not find his ideas extended and his knowledge increased. Thanking his mother, in one of his letters, for the great care she had manifested in forwarding his education and future advancement, he made use of the following emphatic words: "*With my sword by my side, and Homer in my pocket, I hope to carve my way through the world.*"

Anecdotes of Napoleon's student life. Table Talk.

When Napoleon was about fourteen, he was conversing with a lady about Marshal Turenne, and extolling him to the skies.

"Yes, my friend," she answered, "he was a great man; but I should like him better if he had not burnt the Palatinate."

"What does that matter," he replied briskly, "if the burning was necessary to the success of his plans?"

Bonaparte was confirmed at the military school at Paris. At the name of Napoleon, the archbishop who confirmed him expressed his astonishment, saying that he did not know this saint, that he was not in the calendar, etc. The child answered unhesitatingly, "That that was no reason, for there were a crowd of saints in Paradise, and only 365 days in the year."

Incapable to estimate his uncommon merit, or rather, to penetrate his true motives, his superiors and schoolfellows taxed him with being foolish

and ridiculous. Every means was tried, but in vain, to restore him to himself by making him change his conduct. Insensible to affronts which he could not resent, he repelled the railleries of the masters by silence and disdain. Humiliation and even punishment, which were also employed, had no better success.

His replies to the professors Labédoyère.

When at school at Brienne Bonaparte was undergoing an examination by a general officer. He answered all the questions proposed with so much precision, accompanied by such a depth of penetration, that the general, the professors, and students were completely astonished. At length, in order to bring the interrogatories to an end, the following question was proposed: "What line of conduct would you adopt, in case you were besieged in a fortified place, and destitute of provisions?" "So long as there were any in the camp of the enemy, I should never be at a loss for a supply," was the answer, without the smallest hesitation. Those emphatic words seemed the prognostics of his future fortunes.

The following document, which has been incorrectly given in many publications, is here inserted verbatim as taken from the register of the École Militaire de Brienne. As a matter of information it may be necessary to state that two students of the College of Brienne were annually chosen as fit

persons to be sent to the Ecole Militaire of Paris, and the following is a translation of the certificate which Napoleon carried with him:

"Description of the King's students, capable, from their age, of entering the service, or passing to the Military School of Paris, namely:

His certificate from Brienne Commandant.

"M. de Bonaparte (Napoleon), born the 15th of August, 1769. Height 4 feet 10 inches, 10 lines: has finished his fourth degree."

"Of good constitution, excellent health, a character docile, frank, and grateful; of very regular habits; has always distinguished himself by his application to mathematics; he is pretty conversant with history and geography; rather deficient in polite accomplishments, as well as Latin, having only finished his fourth class. He will prove an excellent marine."

"Deserves to pass to the school at Paris."

The passage of Mount St. Bernard was preferred by Napoleon to that of Mount Cenis; the difficulty, as regarded the former, lay in the ascent and descent, but it offered the advantage of leaving Turin to the right; and acting in a country more covered and less known. Still a speedy passage of the artillery seemed impossible. The cartridges and ammunition were deposited in cases, which, as well as the mountain forges, were carried by mules. The greatest difficulty was in getting the pieces

themselves over; however, a number of trunks of trees, hollowed out for the reception of the guns, which were fastened into them by their trunnions, having been prepared, every piece, thus arranged, was dragged by soldiers. All those dispositions were made with so much promptitude that the march of the artillery caused no delay. The troops made it a point of honor not to leave their guns in the rear; and one division, rather than abandon its artillery, chose to pass the night upon the summit of a mountain, in the midst of snow and excessive cold.

The passage of the Alps. Labédoyère.

It has been said that Napoleon had his fortune to make at this period; but, at the moment of crossing Mount St. Bernard he had fought twenty pitched battles, conquered Italy, dictated peace to Austria, only sixty miles distant from Vienna; negotiated, at Rastadt, with Count Cobentzel, for the surrender of the strong city of Mentz; raised nearly three hundred millions in contributions, which had served to supply the army during two years, created the Cisalpine army, and even paid some of the officers of government in Paris. He had sent to the Museum three hundred chefs-d'œuvre, in statuary and paintings; added to which, he had conquered Egypt, suppressed the factions at home, and totally eradicated the war in La Vendée.

His victories at that time. Ibid.

On the 16th, Bonaparte slept at the convent of St. Maurice, and the whole army passed the St. Bernard on the 17th, Napoleon traversing the same in person on the 20th, seated on a mule, which had been recommended by one of the inhabitants of St. Pierre, as the most sure-footed animal throughout the country. Bonaparte's guide was a tall, robust youth of twenty-two, who conversed freely, and with a confidence becoming his age, and the simplicity of the inhabitants of the mountains.

Napoleon's wonderful exploits with the Army of Italy. Labédoyère.

In order to prove how far the armies of the Republic merited a column, as a recompense for their toils, we subjoin the following note, recapitulating the wonderful efforts of the French, during nine months of the reign of Republicanism: The French army crossed the Rhine at Kehl, at Brisach, and at Basle—battle and victory at Memmingen—battle and victory at Biberach—taking of Hotenwield—passing of Mount St. Bernard and the Simplon—taking of Aoste, Bard, the Brunette, and Suza—defence of Genoa—first victory at the bridge of the Var—Nice retaken—the Austrians pursued and beaten in the defiles of the Maritime Alps—the frontiers delivered—triumphant entry into Milan—the taking of Bragantz and of Paria—capture of Cremona and Placentia—capitulation of the castle of Bard and of Orsinovi—the taking of Bellenzona and Arona—passage of the Po—

victory of Stradella and on the following day the memorable triumph at Marengo—Geneva delivered—the cities and citadels of Turin, Allessandria, Tortona, Pizzighettone, Crema, Urbino, and the fortresses of Milan and Placentia taken possession of—the English driven from the west; and La Vendée pacified—passage of the Danube—victory of Hochstedt, and that of Newbourg—the capture of Munich—the success of Aschaffenburg—the taking of Würtzburg and of Bamberg—Bohemia threatened—Fieldkirk, Lucenteiz, Glaris, Corra, and the whole of the Grisson country subdued—the fortifications of Ulm, Ingoldstadt, and Philipsburg demolished—the victory of Hohenlinden—passage of the Inn and Salza forced—the entry into Austria—the passage of the Splügen—the taking of Trent—brigands of Arezzo chastised—the English driven from Leghorn—insurrection in Tuscany quelled—Florence taken possession of—the passage and victory of the Mincio—passage and victory of the Adige—Egypt preserved—battle and victory of Heliopolis—the Tyrol evacuated *in toto*—Peschiera and Ferrara and their fortresses, Ancona and its fortresses, Mantua and its citadel delivered—the forts of Verona and Lugano, and the whole of the Venetian territory as far as the Tagliamento fallen into the hands of the French.

The list, continued. Labédoyère.

The nine months thus enumerated of the history of the French Republic surpass, in splendor of achievement, all the victories obtained by Louis XIV. during his astonishing career of fifty years of glory.

Some of the inhabitants of Genoa, seeing the Austrians in the act of descending the mountains, issued from the city, to inquire the cause of those movements, and one among them questioned two travellers, who had halted near a broken carriage, saying, "Cannot you inform us what all this signifies?" "It signifies," replied an elderly gentleman, "that a veteran of seventy-four years of age has been duped by a young man of twenty-six!" which gentleman is said to have been no other than General Beaulieu himself.

Opinion of Napoleon, by General Beaulieu.

Bonaparte's new system of military movements excited universal attention. This campaign was scarcely opened, ere Lombardy became inundated by troops in every direction, and the French approached Mantua *pèle mèle* with the enemy. Napoleon, when in the vicinity of Pizzighettone, beheld a tall German colonel prisoner, and questioning him, without being known, as to the posture of affairs, was answered, "Very badly. I know how it will end; but no one seems to understand what he is about. We have been sent to fight a young blockhead, who attacks us on the right and left,

in front and rear, so that we know not how to proceed. This mode of warfare is unbearable, and I am very glad to have done with it."

Napoleon has been reported as refusing to mention with credit the action of his generals in his reports to the Directory. Such reports would lead many to believe, who read them, that he was desirous of taking all the credit of the battles to himself. There are many instances which prove the contrary; one amongst the number I will relate, that of the battle of Eylau. The author of "The Camp and Court of Napoleon" says that Napoleon was so enraged at the indecisive result of the day that he vented his spleen on Marshal Augereau and sent him home in disgrace. In Napoleon's bulletin home giving an account of this battle he speaks of Augereau three times: first, to describe the sudden snow-squall that blinded his army, causing it to lose its direction, and grope about for half an hour in uncertainty; second, to make mention of his wound; and, finally, to say, "The wound of Marshal Augereau was a very unfavorable accident, as it left his corps, in the very heat of the battle, without a leader to direct it."

Napoleon's generous treatment of his generals. Headley.

Napoleon, in a gray riding coat and Polish cap, at the head of his guards, led on the attack at the battle of Eylau. The bullets whistled around, and a shell burst within a few paces from him. Auge-

reau's arm was broken, and Lannes was wounded, but not severely.

At the beginning of this contest, Augereau was scarcely in his senses, from the severity of rheumatic pains to which he was subject; but the sound of the cannon awakens the brave: he flew at full gallop to the head of his corps, after causing himself to be tied on his horse. He was constantly exposed to the hottest of the fire, but was only slightly wounded. After the battle, Napoleon passed several hours upon the field, a horrible spectacle, but which duty rendered necessary. Let anyone figure to himself the space of a square league covered with nine or ten thousand dead bodies; four or five thousand horses killed; whole lines of Russian knapsacks; broken pieces of muskets; the ground covered with cannon-balls; twenty-four pieces of artillery, near which were lying the bodies of their drivers, killed at the moment they were striving to convey them off: all rendered the more conspicuous, from the ground being covered with snow.

Napoleon after battle of Eylau. Labédoyère.

Napoleon, at the battle of Friedland, displayed all the activity and those great talents he had shown in the preceding campaigns. *During the battle he was seen riding to and from the most exposed positions*, and the troops frequently observed, with apprehension, the balls that passed near him, or

fell spent at his feet. Major-General Berthier gave equal proofs of his zeal and intrepidity; he was often seen amidst the thickest of the combatants, executing the orders given by the Emperor.

Immediately after the battle of Marengo the news of Washington's death had just been received and Bonaparte thus announced it to his army, thereby showing his admiration for that illustrious general, as well as his profound respect for our country:

"Washington is dead! That great man fought against tyranny; he consummated the independence of his country. His memory will be ever dear to the French people, as to all freemen of both worlds, and most of all to French soldiers, who, like him and the soldiers of America, are fighting for equality and freedom." Ten days mourning were appointed and a solemn ceremony performed in the Church of the Invalides. Under the solemn dome Bonaparte assembled all the authorities of France and the officers of the army, and there, in their presence, Lannes presented to the government ninety-six colors, taken in Egypt. Berthier, then Minister of War, sitting between two soldiers, both a hundred years old, shaded by a thousand standards, the fruits of Bonaparte's victories, received them from the hands of Lannes, who pronounced a war-like speech as he presented them.

Napoleon's tribute to Washington. His address to the army. Headley.

The young Republic of France went into mourning for the Father of the American Republic, and this was the funeral ceremony.

No pen can describe the intense anxiety with which Napoleon watched the progress of the battle of Wagram. Everything in that battle depended on Macdonald. *Out of sixteen thousand men with which he started, but fifteen hundred are left beside him. Ten out of every eleven have fallen,* and here at length the tired hero pauses and surveys with a stern and anxious eye his few remaining followers. The heart of Napoleon stops beating at the sight, and well it may, for his throne is where Macdonald stands. He bears the Empire on his single brave heart—*he is the Empire.* Shall he turn at last and sound the retreat? The fate of the nations wavers to and fro, for, like a speck in the distance, Macdonald is seen still to pause, while the cannon are piling the dead in heaps around him. "Will he turn and fly?" is the secret and agonizing question Napoleon puts to himself. No; he is worthy of the mighty trust committed to him. The empire stands or falls with him, but shall stand while *he* stands. Looking away to where his Emperor sits, he sees the dark masses of the Old Guard in motion, and the shining helmets of the brave cuirassiers sweeping to his relief. "Forward!" breaks from his iron lips. The roll of drums and the peal-

His anxiety at Wagram. Headley.

ing of trumpets answers the volley that smites that exhausted column, and the next moment it is seen piercing the Austrian centre. The day is won —the Empire saved—and the whole Austrian army is in full retreat.

On riding over the victorious field Bonaparte came where Macdonald stood amid his troops. As his eye fell on the calm and collected hero, he stopped, and holding out his hand, said, "Shake hands, Macdonald—no more hatred between us; we must henceforth be friends, and as a pledge of my sincerity, I will send your marshal's staff, which you have so gloriously earned." The frankness and kindness of Napoleon effected what all his neglect and coldness had failed to do—subdued him. Grasping his hand, and with a voice choked with emotion, which the wildest uproar of battle could never agitate, Macdonald replied, "Ah! Sire, with us it is henceforth for life and death."

Napoleon meets Macdonald after Wagram. Headley.

Napoleon arrived on the field of Montebello just in time to see the battle won. He rode up to Lannes, surrounded by the remnants of his guard, and found him drenched with blood, his sword dripping in his exhausted hand, his face blackened with powder and smoke—and his uniform looking more as if it had been dragged under the wheels of the artillery during the day than worn by a living man. But a smile of exultation passed over

his features as he saw his commander gazing with pride and affection upon him, while the soldiers, weary and exhausted as they were, could not restrain their joy at the victory they had won.

Napoleon and Lannes after Montebello. Headley.

Lannes in speaking of it afterwards said, in referring to the deadly fire of artillery before which he held his men with such unflinching firmness, "I could hear the bones crash in my division like hailstones against the windows." Lannes never fought a more desperate battle than this.

BATTLE OF ARCOLA.

Bonaparte, wearied by continual fighting—exhausted by his few victories—was with his army of fifteen thousand men at Verona, when a fresh army of more than thirty thousand suddenly appeared before the town. His position was desperate, and his ruin apparently inevitable. The soldiers murmured, saying, "After destroying two armies, we are expected to destroy also those from the Rhine." Complaints and discouragements were on every side; but in this crisis, Napoleon, without consulting anyone, took one of those sudden resolutions that seemed the result of inspiration. In the rear of the Austrians was a large marsh, crossed by two long causeways, and on these he determined to place his army. Crossing the Adige twice during the night, the morning saw his army

Napoleon at the battle of Arcola. Ibid.

in two divisions—one under Masséna, and the other under Augereau—stretched in two massive columns on these two dykes, while on every side of them was a deep marsh. This daring and consummate stroke, none but the genius of Bonaparte would ever have conceived, or dared to have adopted, if proposed. Along these narrow causeways numbers gave no advantage; everything depended on the courage and firmness of the heads of the columns with Augereau and Masséna to lead on his own he had no doubt of success. Augereau, leading his column along the causeway on which he was posted, came up to the Adige and bridge of Arcola—on the opposite side of which was the town of Arcola—and attempted to force it; but the tremendous fire that swept it almost annihilated the head of the column, and it fell back. It was then he performed the daring deed, which Bonaparte on his arrival imitated. Seeing his men recoil before the fire, he seized a pair of colors, and bidding his men follow after, rushed on the bridge and planted them in the midst of the iron storm. With a loud and cheering shout, the brave troops rushed to the charge; but nothing could withstand that murderous fire. The head of the column sank on the bridge, and Augereau himself, overthrown, was borne back in the refluent tide of his followers.

Augereau's charge on the bridge. Headley.

Soon after the Austrians, under Mitrouski, attacked him in turn upon the dyke; but after a fierce struggle he repulsed them, and chasing them over the bridge, again attempted to pass it. But though the column advanced with the utmost intrepidity into the volcano that blazed at the further extremity, the fire was too severe to withstand, and it again recoiled, and the soldiers threw themselves down behind the dyke to escape the bullets. At this critical juncture, Bonaparte, who deemed the possession of Arcola of vital importance, came up on a furious gallop. Springing from his horse, he hastened to the soldiers lying along the dyke, and asking them if they were the conquerors of Lodi, seized a standard as Augereau had done, and exclaiming, "Follow your General!" advanced through a perfect hurricane of grape-shot to the centre of the bridge, and planted it there. The brave grenadiers pressed with level bayonets close after their intrepid leader; but, unable to endure the tempest of fire and of lead which the hotly worked battery hurled in their faces, they seized Bonaparte in their arms, and trampling over the dead and dying, came rushing back through the smoke of the battle. But the Austrians pressed after, close upon the disordered column, and drove it into the marsh in the rear, where Bonaparte was left up to his arms in water. But

Napoleon leads a second charge. Headley.

the next moment, finding their beloved chief was gone, the soldiers cried out, over the roar of the battle, "Forward, to save your General!" Pausing in their flight, they wheeled and charged the advancing enemy, and driving them back over the morass, bore off in triumph the helpless Napoleon. In this deadly encounter of the heads of columns, and successive advances and repulses, the day wore away, and the shades of a November night parted the combatants. The Austrians occupied Arcola, while the French retired to Ronco, or sank to rest in the middle of the causeways they had held with such firmness during the day. The smoke of the guns spread itself like a mist over the marsh, amid which the dead and dying lay together. In the morning the strife again commenced on this strange field of battle—two causeways in the midst of a marsh. The Austrians advanced in two columns along them, till they reached the centre, when the French charged with the bayonet and routed them with prodigious slaughter—hurling them, in the shock, by crowds from the dyke into the marsh. The second day passed as the first, and when night returned the roar of artillery ceased, and Bonaparte slept again on the field of battle. The third morning broke over this dreadful scene, and the diminished, wearied armies roused themselves for a last great

Napoleon borne back by his troops. Headley.

effort. Masséna, charging on the run, cleared his dyke; while the left-hand one, after a desperate encounter, was also swept of the enemy, and Arcola evacuated. Bonaparte, now thinking the enemy sufficiently disheartened and reduced to allow him to hazard an engagement in the open field, deployed his army into the plain across the Alpon, where the two armies drew up in order of battle. Before the signal for the onset, he resorted to a stratagem, in order to give force to his attack. He sent twenty-five trumpeters through a marsh of reeds that reached to the left wing of the Austrians, with orders to sound the charge the moment the combat became general. He then ordered Masséna and Augereau to advance. With an intrepid step they moved to the attack, but were met with a firm resistance, when all at once the Austrians heard a loud blast of trumpets on their flank, as if a whole division of cavalry was rushing to the charge. Terror-stricken at the sudden appearance of this new foe, they gave way and fled. At the same time the French garrison of Lagnagno, in the rear, issuing forth, by order of Napoleon, and opening their fire upon the retiring ranks, completed the disorder, and the bloody battle of Arcola was won.

The third day. Napoleon's stratagem. Headley.

Before Napoleon left Milan (on the 17th of November) he sent to the Directory one of those

monuments, the inscriptions on which may generally be considered as fabulous, but which, in this case, were nothing but the truth. This monument was the "flag of the Army of Italy," and to General Joubert was assigned the honorable duty of presenting it to the members of the Executive Government.

Napoleon sends a flag of the Army of Italy to Paris. Bourrienne.

On one side of the flag were the words "To the Army of Italy, the grateful country." The other contained an enumeration of the battles fought and places taken, and presented in the following inscriptions, a simple but striking abridgment of the history of the Italian campaign:

Inscriptions thereon. Ibid.

"150,000 prisoners; 170 standards; 550 pieces of siege artillery; 600 pieces of field artillery; five pontoon equipages; nine 64-gun ships; twelve 32-gun frigates; 12 corvettes; 18 galleys; armistice with the King of Sardinia; convention with Genoa; armistice with the Duke of Parma; armistice with the King of Naples; armistice with the Pope; preliminaries of Leoben; convention of Montebello with the Republic of Genoa; treaty of peace with the Emperor of Germany at Campo Formio."

"Liberty given to the people of Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, Massa-Carrara, La Romagna, Lombardy, Brescia, Bergamo, Mantua, Cremona, part of the Veronese, Chiavena, Bormio the Valteline, the

Genoese, the Imperial Fiefs, the people of the departments of Corcyra, of the Ægean Sea, and of Ithaca."

"Sent to Paris the masterpieces of Michael Angelo, of Guercino, of Titian, of Paul Veronese, of Correggio, of Albano, of the Carracci, of Raphael, and of Leonardo da Vinci."

Napoleon brought only 300,000 francs from Italy.

He reported that he brought back from Italy only 300,000 francs. This is no doubt a fact. No one will accuse him of peculation. He was an inflexible administrator. He was always irritated at the discovery of fraud, and pursued those guilty of it with all the vigor of his character. He wished to be independent, which he well knew that no one could be without fortune. He has often said, "I am no Capuchin, not I." But after having been allowed only 300,000 francs on his arrival from the rich Italy, where fortune never abandoned him, it has been printed that he had 20,000,000 (some have even doubled the amount) on his return from Egypt, which is a very poor country, where money is scarce, and where reverses followed close upon his victories.

Bonaparte wished to form a camp library of cabinet editions, and he gave a list of the books to purchase. This list is in his own handwriting, and is as follows:

CAMP LIBRARY.

1. Arts and Science.—Fontenelle's Works, 1 vol. Letters to a German Princess, 2 vols. Courses of the Normal School, 6 vols. The Artillery Assistant, 1 vol. Treatise on Fortifications, 3 vols. Treatise on Fireworks, 1 vol.

Napoleon's camp library. Bourrienne.

2. Geography and Travels.—Barclay's Geography, 12 vols. Cook's Voyages, 3 vols. La Harpe's Travels, 24 vols.

3. History.—Plutarch, 12 vols. Turenne, 2 vols. Condé, 4 vols. Villars, 4 vols. Luxembourg, 2 vols. Duguesclin, 2 vols. Saxe, 3 vols. Memoirs of the Marshals of France, 20 vols. President Hainault, 4 vols. Chronology, 2 vols. Marlborough, 4 vols. Prince Eugène, 6 vols. Philosophical History of India, 12 vols. Germany, 2 vols. Charles XII., 1 vol. Essays on the Manners of Nations, 6 vols. Peter the Great, 1 vol. Polybius, 6 vols. Justinian, 2 vols. Arrian, 3 vols. Tacitus, 2 vols. Titus Livy. Thucydides, 2 vols. Vertot, 4 vols. Denina, 8 vols. Frederick II., 8 vols.

4. Poetry.—Ossian, 1 vol. Tasso, 6 vols. Ariosto, 6 vols. Homer, 6 vols. Virgil, 4 vols. The Henriade, 1 vol. Telemachus, 2 vols. Les Jardin, 1 vol. The Chefs-d'Œuvre of the French Theatre, 20 vols. Select Light Poetry, 10 vols. La Fontaine.

5. Romance.—Voltaire, 4 vols. Héloïse, 4 vols. Werther, 1 vol. Marmontel, 4 vols. English Novels, 40 vols. Le Sage, 10 vols. Prévost, 10 vols.

6. Politics and Morals.—The Old Testament, The New Testament, The Koran, The Veda, Mythology, Montesquieu, L'Esprit des Lois.

It will be observed that he classed the books of the religious creeds of nations under the head of politics.

Napoleon's proclamation at Toulon. Bourrienne.

Bonaparte had scarcely arrived at Toulon when he heard that the law for the death of emigrants was enforced with frightful rigor; and that but recently an old man, upwards of eighty, had been shot. Indignant at this barbarity, he dictated to me, in a tone of anger, the following letter:

Headquarters, Toulon,
27th Floréal, year IV. (16th May), 1798.

Bonaparte, Member of the National Institute, to the Military Commissioners of the Ninth Division, established by the law of the 19th Fructidor.

I have learned, citizens, with deep regret, that an old man between seventy and eighty years of age, and some unfortunate women, in a state of pregnancy, or surrounded with children of tender age, have been shot on the charge of emigration.

Have the soldiers of liberty become execution-

ers? Can the mercy which they have exercised even in the fury of battle be extinct in their hearts?

Proclamation continued, sparing women and old men.

The law of the 19th Fructidor was a measure of public safety. Its object was to reach conspirators, not women and aged men.

I therefore exhort you, citizens, whenever the law brings to your tribunals women or old men, to declare that in the field of battle you have respected the women and old men of your enemies.

The officer who signs a sentence against a person incapable of bearing arms, is a coward.

(Signed) Bonaparte.

This letter saved the life of an unfortunate man who came under the description of persons to whom Bonaparte referred. The tone of this note shows what an idea he already entertained of his power. He took it upon himself, doubtless from the noblest motives, to step out of his way to interpret and interdict the execution of the law, atrocious, it is true, but which, even in those times of weakness, disorder, and anarchy, was still a law. In this instance at least, the power of his name was nobly employed. The letter gave great satisfaction to the army destined for the expedition.

After enumerating the troops and war-like

stores he wished to be sent to Egypt, he concluded with the following list:

List of stores for Army of Egypt. Bourrienne.

1st, a company of actors; 2nd, a company of dancers; 3rd, some dealers in marionettes, at least three or four; 4th, a hundred French women; 5th, the wives of all the men employed in the corps; 6th, twenty surgeons, thirty apothecaries, and ten physicians; 7th, some founders; 8th, some distillers and dealers in liquor; 9th, fifty gardeners with their families; and the seeds of every kind of vegetable; 10th, each party to bring with them 200,000 pints of brandy; 11th, 30,000 ells of blue and scarlet cloth; 12th, a supply of soap and oil.

Anecdote of Napoleon in Russian campaign.

Among the anecdotes of Napoleon connected with the Russian campaign, I find in my notes the following, which was related to me by Rapp. Some days before his entrance into Vienna, Napoleon, who was riding on horseback along the road, dressed in his usual uniform of the chasseurs of the Guard, met an open carriage, in which was seated a lady and a priest. The lady was in tears, and Napoleon could not refrain from stopping to ask her what was the cause of her distress. "Sir," she replied, for she did not know the Emperor, "I have been pillaged of my estate, two leagues from hence, by a party of soldiers, who have murdered my gardener. I am going to seek your Emperor, who knows my family, to whom he was once under

AUSTERLITZ (1805)

By Lalanze

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great obligations." "What is your name?" inquired Napoleon. "De Bunny," replied the lady. "I am the daughter of M. de Marbœuf, formerly Governor of Corsica." "Madame," exclaimed Napoleon, "I am the Emperor. I am delighted to have the opportunity of serving you." "You cannot conceive," continued Rapp, "the attention which the Emperor showed Madame de Bunny. He consoled her, pitied her, almost apologized for the misfortune she had sustained. 'Will you have the goodness, Madame,' said he, 'to go and wait for me at my headquarters. I will join you speedily; every member of M. de Marbœuf's family has a claim on my respect.' The Emperor immediately gave her a piquet of chasseurs of his guard to escort her. He saw her again during the day, when he loaded her with attentions, and liberally indemnified her for the losses she had sustained."

Napoleon's courtesy to Madame de Bunny. Rapp.

General Rapp gives the following account of the battle of Austerlitz:

"When we arrived at Austerlitz the Russians were not aware of the scientific plans which the Emperor had laid for drawing them upon the ground he had marked out; and seeing our advanced guards fall back before theirs they already considered themselves conquerors. They supposed that their guard alone would secure an easy triumph. But the action commenced, and they ex-

perienced an energetic resistance on all points. At one o'clock the victory was yet uncertain, for they fought admirably. They wished to make a last effort by directing close masses against our centre. Their Imperial Guard deployed; their artillery, cavalry and infantry marched upon a bridge which they attacked, and this movement, which was concealed by the rising and falling of the ground, was not observed by Napoleon. I was at that moment near the Emperor, awaiting his orders. We heard a well-maintained firing of musketry. The Russians were repulsing one of our brigades. The Emperor ordered me to take some of the Mamelukes, two squadrons of chasseurs, and one of grenadiers of the Guard, and to go and reconnoitre the state of things. I set off at full gallop, and soon discovered the disaster. The Russian cavalry had penetrated our squares, and was sabering our men. I perceived in the distance some masses of cavalry and infantry, which formed the reserve of the Russians. At that moment the enemy advanced to meet us, bringing with him four pieces of artillery, and ranged himself in order of battle. I had the brave Morland on my left, and General d'Allemagne on my right. 'Forward, my lads!' exclaimed I to my troop. 'See how your brothers and friends are being cut to pieces. Avenge them! avenge our flag! Forward!' These

Rapp's account of the battle of Austerlitz. Bourrienne.

few words roused my men. We advanced as swiftly as our horses could carry us upon the artillery, which was taken. The enemy's cavalry, which awaited us firmly, was repulsed by the same shock, and fled in disorder, galloping, as we did, over the wreck of our squares. The Russians rallied; but a squadron of horse grenadiers came up to reinforce me, and thus enabled me to hold ground against the reserves of the Russian Guard. We charged again and this charge was terrible. The brave Morland was killed by my side. It was downright butchery. We were opposed man to man, and were so mingled together that the infantry of neither one nor the other side could venture to fire for fear of killing his own men. At length the intrepidity of our troops overcame every obstacle, and the Russians fled in disorder, in sight of the two Emperors of Russia and Austria, who had stationed themselves on a height in order to witness the battle. They saw a desperate one," said Rapp, "and I trust they were satisfied. For my part, my dear friend, I never spent so glorious a day. What a reception the Emperor gave me when I returned to inform him that we had won the battle! My sword was broken, and a wound which I received on my head was bleeding copiously, so that I was covered with blood! He made me a General of Division. The Russians did not return to

Battle of Austerlitz, continued.

the charge; we had taken all their cannon and baggage, and Prince Repnin was among the prisoners."

There is something strange about the position and behavior of the Russian army after Austerlitz. See Savary (tome ii. chap. xvii.), in which he hints that the Russians only escaped worse defeat the day after the battle by bad faith. Jomini says nothing on the subject, but he owed much to Alexander when he wrote. On the battle itself Jomini puts the following in the mouth of Napoleon: "Such was the famous day of Austerlitz—of all the pitched fights I have won—that of which I am the proudest. As much on account of the enemy over whom I triumphed, as on account of the circumstances which made all my combinations succeed as if I had commanded both armies, and as if we had agreed upon the manœuvres. Ulm, Marengo, Jean, Ratisbon, were as brilliant victories, but they were the result of strategical manœuvres and of a series of combats. The most remarkable tactical battles are Austerlitz, Rivoli, and Dresden." Jomini's opinion must be that of every soldier, but he does not do justice to the calculated daring by which Napoleon disregarded the Prussian advance and crushed the allies before Prussia could bring her power to bear. One undoubted result of Austerlitz was the death of

Jomini's opinion of Austerlitz. Bourrienne.

the great English patriot, William Pitt, who is said to have been as much killed by it as if actually shot on the field. See Alison, chap. xl., para. 167.

A curious meteorological coincidence may be noted here. The passage of the Niemen by the French army, and its consequent entry on Russian territory, may be said to have been Napoleon's first step towards his ultimate defeat and ruin. A terrible thunderstorm occurred on this occasion, according to M. de Ségur's account of the Russian campaign. When Napoleon commenced the retreat by which he yielded all the country beyond the Elbe (and which may be therefore reckoned the second step towards his downfall), it was accompanied by a thunderstorm more remarkable from occurring at such a season. (Odelben says: "C'était un phénomène bien extraordinaire dans une pareille saison et avec le froid qu'on venait d'éprouver," etc. "Campaign of 1813," vol. i., p. 289.) The first step towards his second downfall, or the third towards his final ruin, was his advance against the British force at Quatre-Bras, on the 17th of June, 1815. This also was accompanied by an awful thunderstorm, which (gathering all the forenoon) commenced at the very moment he made his attack on the British rearguard with Ney's corps about 3 p. m., when the first gun fired

Ominous coincidences of storms in Napoleon's career. Bourrienne.

was instantly responded to by a tremendous peal of thunder. Again at St. Helena, where thunderstorms are unknown, the last breath of Napoleon passed away in the midst of a furious tempest.

The Emperor entered Warsaw on the 1st of January, 1807. Most of the reports which he had received previous to his entrance had concurred in describing the dissatisfaction of the troops, who for some time had had to contend with bad roads, bad weather, and all sorts of privations. Bonaparte said to the generals who informed him that the enthusiasm of his troops had been succeeded by dejection and discontent, "Does their spirit fail them when they come in sight of the enemy?" "No, Sire." "I knew it; my troops are always the same." Then turning to Rapp he said: "I must rouse them;" and he dictated the following proclamation:

Napoleon's Warsaw proclamation. Bourrienne.

"Soldiers: It is a year this very hour since you were on the field of Austerlitz, where the Russian battalions fled in disorder, or surrendered up their arms to their conquerors. Next day proposals of peace were talked of; but they were deceptive. No sooner had the Russians escaped by, perhaps, blamable generosity, from the disasters of the third coalition than they contrived a fourth. But the ally on whose tactics they founded their principal hope was no more. His capital, his fort-

resses, his magazines, his arsenals, 280 flags, and 700 field-pieces have fallen into our power. The Oder, the Warthe, the deserts of Poland, and the inclemency of the season have not for a moment retarded your progress. You have braved all; every obstacle has fled at your approach. The Russians have in vain endeavored to defend the capital of ancient and illustrious Poland. The French eagle hovers over the Vistula. The brave and unfortunate Poles, on beholding you, fancied they saw the legions of Sobieski returning from their memorable expedition.

Warsaw proclamation, continued. Bourrienne.

"Soldiers, we will not lay down our arms until a general peace has secured the power of our allies and restored to us our colonies and our freedom of trade. We have gained on the Elbe and the Oder, Pondicherry, our Indian establishments, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. Why should the Russians have the right of opposing destiny and thwarting our just designs? They and we are still the soldiers who fought at Austerlitz."

When Bonaparte dictated his proclamations—and how many have I not written from his dictation!—he was for the moment inspired, and he evinced all the excitement which distinguishes the Italian *improvisatori.* To follow him it was necessary to write with inconceivable rapidity. When

I have read over to him what he has dictated I have often known him to smile triumphantly at the effect which he expected any particular phrase would produce. In general his proclamations turned on three distinct points: (1) praising his soldiers for what they had done; (2) pointing out to them what they had yet to do; and (3) abusing his enemies. The proclamation to which I have just now alluded was circulated profusely through Germany, and it is impossible to conceive the effect it produced on the whole army. The corps stationed in the rear, burned to pass, by forced marches, the space which separated them from headquarters; and those who were nearer the Emperor forgot their fatigues and privations and were only anxious to encounter the enemy. They frequently could not understand what Napoleon said in these proclamations; but no matter for that, they would have followed him cheerfully barefooted and without provisions. Such was the enthusiasm, or rather the fanaticism, which Napoleon could inspire among his troops when he thought proper to rouse them, as he termed it.

Effect of Napoleon's proclamations on his soldiers. Bourrienne.

The Emperor was sitting in a place from whence he could watch the attack on the town of Ratisbon. He was striking the ground with his whip when a ball, believed to have come from a Tyrolean carbine, struck him on the big toe. The

LE OF AUSTERLITZ

BER 2, 1805

1813, after a painting by

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report of his wound spread rapidly from rank to rank, and he was obliged to get on horseback to show himself to the troops. Though his boot was not penetrated the wound was very painful; still he put a good face on it. Nature, however, claimed her rights. When after this short ride he entered a little house, some musket-shots off the place where he had been wounded, his courage was exhausted, and he fainted right off. This wound, happily, had no bad results. As for his courage, Metternich (tome i. p. 279) has some very sensible remarks on the absence of any necessity for his exposing himself. "The history of his campaign suffices to prove that he was always at the place, dangerous or not, which was proper for the head of a great army." This place, however, was sometimes dangerous enough. At the battle of Wagram, says Savary (tome iv. p. 174), "I do not know what was in the Emperor's head, but he remained a good hour in this angle, which was regularly swept by bullets. The soldiers were stationary, and became demoralized. The Emperor knew better than anyone that this situation could not last long, and he did not wish to go away, as he could remedy disorders. At the moment of greatest danger he rode along the front of the line of troops on a horse white as snow. The horse was called Euphrates, and had been given to him by the Sophi

Napoleon's personal bravery. Metternich.

At Wagram. Savary.

of Persia. I expected to see him fall at every moment." Napoleon, besides exposing himself freely, when necessary, to danger, as at Lodi or Arcola, was also, for a man in his position, very indifferent to precautions for his safety. On two occasions he was surrounded by Cossacks, and in imminent danger of his life, not being recognized by them, once at Malojaroslavetz in 1812, and once in France in 1814.

Wounds found after his death Thiers.

After his death "the inspection of his body revealed several wounds, some very slight, and three very distinct. Of these three, the first was on the head, the second on the fourth finger of the left hand, the third on the left thigh. The last one was very deep, and was caused by a bayonet stab received at Toulon: it is the only one whose origin can be historically fixed." (Thiers, tome xx., p. 708.)

Napoleon's own means of transport was not neglected, and a special carriage was built for him at Brussels, and elaborately fitted up with every convenience for a long campaign. A very complete account of this vehicle will be found in Captain Malet's "Annals of the Road" (London, Longman's, 1876.)

Napoleon's carriage was taken at Waterloo and presented to the Prince Regent, by whom it was afterwards sold to a Mr. Bullock for 2,500 pounds.

It eventually found its way to Madame Tussaud's Waxwork Exhibition, where it may still be seen.

"This very curious and convenient chariot was built by Symons of Brussels for the Russian campaign, and is adapted for the various purposes of a pantry and a kitchen, for it has places for holding and preparing refreshments which, by the aid of a lamp, could be heated in the carriage. It served also for a bedroom, a dressing-room, an office," etc.

Napoleon's campaign carriage. Bourrienne.

"The seat is divided into two by a partition about six inches high. The exterior of this ingenious vehicle is of the form and dimensions of a large English travelling-chariot, except that it has a projection in front of about two feet, the right-hand half of which is open to the inside to receive the feet, thus forming a bed, while the left-hand half contained a store of various useful things.

"Beyond the projection in front, and nearer to the horses, was the seat for the coachman, contrived so as to prevent the driver from viewing the interior of the carriage, and yet so placed as to afford those within a clear sight of the horses and of the surrounding country. Beneath this seat was a receptacle for a box, about two and a half feet in length and four inches deep, containing a bedstead of polished steel, which could be fitted up in a couple of minutes. Over the front

windows was a roller blind of canvas, which when pulled down excluded rain while it admitted air.

"On the ceiling of the carriage is a net-work for carrying small travelling requisites. In a recess there was a *secretaire*, ten inches by eighteen, which contained nearly a hundred articles presented to Napoleon by Maria Louisa, under whose care it was fitted up with every luxury and convenience that could be imagined. It contained, besides the usual requisites for a dressing-box (most of which were of solid gold), a magnificent breakfast service with plates, candlesticks, knives, forks, spoons, a spirit lamp for making breakfast in the carriage, a gold case for Napoleon's gold wash-hand basin, a number of essence bottles, and a variety of minute articles, such as needles and thread.

The conveniences of travel. Bourrienne.

"At the bottom of this toilet-box, in a recess, were found, in 1815, 2,000 gold Napoleons—on top of it were writing materials, a liquor-case, a wardrobe, writing-desk, maps, telescopes, pistols, etc., a large silver chronometer, by which the watches of the army were regulated, two merino mattresses, a travelling-cap, a sword, a uniform, and an imperial mantle and head-dress."

It is often more than difficult to fix the number of troops brought into the field in the campaign of 1814, as both sides received reinforcements, and

as a large part of the forces originally under Soult and Suchet were brought northwards. The following figures seem to agree with those given by the best authorities as to the strength at the beginning of the year. The Army of Bohemia, or the Grand Army of the Allies, under Schwarzenberg, about 116,000 strong, and the Army of Silesia, composed of Russian and Prussian corps, under Blücher, about 88,000 strong, were opposed by Napoleon with some 87,000 men. Napoleon was reinforced from time to time, but Schwarzenberg had a reserve of 5,000 at Bâle. (Hamley, "Operations of War," p. 278.) Soult, with about 40,000 men, faced Wellington, with 100,000, of whom some 28,000 were employed at Bayonne. In Belgium, Maison, with 12,000 men, faced the Duke of Saxe-Weimar with 2,500, and in Italy, Eugène, with 36,000, opposed an Austrian army of 70,000, eventually joined by Murat. The French troops which held the various fortresses in Germany were blockaded by superior numbers of the allies. In the interior of France large levies were being made, and Augereau was sent to Lyons to command a force of young troops, increased by drafts from Suchet, to meet the Austrians under Bubna.

Size of Napoleon's armies in 1814. Bourrienne.

In this defensive campaign of 1814 the genius of

Bonaparte displayed itself with wonderful brilliancy. According to the Marquis of Londonderry:

"Napoleon, after the battles of Brienne and La Rothière, displayed, by his masterly movements with an inferior against *two* superior armies, and by braving his accumulated difficulties, that undoubted science in war which his bitterest enemies must accord to his genius. In proportion as his embarrassments increased he seemed to rise superior as an individual. During his adverse fortune on the Elbe he appeared fluctuating and irresolute, and his lengthened stay in untenable and disadvantageous positions was the cause of his fatal overthrow at Leipsic and of subsequent misfortunes. But now he appeared once more to have burst forth with all his talent and all his energies and mental resources."

The Marquis of Londonderry's estimate of Napoleon.

At the battle of La Rothière Napoleon exhibited great personal courage, and Lord Londonderry remarks:

"Bonaparte was seen to encourage his troops and expose his person fearlessly during the combat, and Marshal Blücher's movement of his cavalry, which he himself led on, was spoken of in the highest terms. Napoleon, who at this period scarcely acted in any instance on common military calculation, drew up his army on the first of February, in two lines on the great plain before La

Rothière, occupying the villages, and neglecting much stronger ground in his rear about Brienne, evidently showing that he meant to play a desperate game. He led on *la jeune garde* in person against Marshal Blücher's army, to wrest the village of La Rothière from the gallant corps of Sacken; but three repeated efforts were ineffectual. All agreed that the enemy fought with great intrepidity. Bonaparte seemed to have set his political existence on a die, as he exposed himself everywhere: his horse was shot under him, and he had the mortification of witnessing the capture of a battery in charge of *la jeune garde.*"

Napoleon at Vienna. Scott.

The city of Vienna, properly so called, is surrounded by the ancient fortifications which withstood the siege of the Turks in 1683. The suburbs, which are of great extent, are surrounded by some slighter defences, but which could only be made good by a large army. Had the Archduke with his forces been able to throw himself into Vienna before Bonaparte arrived under its walls, no doubt a formidable defence might have been made. The inclination of the citizens was highly patriotic. They fired from the ramparts on the advance of the French, and rejected the summons of surrender. The Archduke Maximilian was governor of the place, at the head of ten battalions of troops of the line, and as many of the Landwehr, or militia.

A shower of bombs first made the inhabitants sensible of the horrors to which they must necessarily be exposed by defensive war. The palace of the Emperor of Austria was in the direct front of this terrible fire. The Emperor himself, and the greater part of his family, had retired to the city of Buda in Hungary; but one was left behind, confined by indisposition, and this was Maria Louisa, the young Archduchess, who shortly afterwards became Empress of France. On intimation of this purpose being made to Bonaparte, the palace was respected, and the storm of these terrible missiles directed to other quarters. The intention of defending the capital was speedily given up. The Archduke Maximilian, with the troops of the line, evacuated the city; and, on the 12th, General O'Reilly, commanding some battalions of Landwehr, signed the capitulation with the French.

Napoleon's capture of Vienna.

After struggling bravely for years for self-defence, France at length found her saviour in the young Corsican. Quelling the revolt of the sections in Paris, he was appointed to the command of the Army of Italy. He found it badly provisioned, worse paid, ragged and murmuring, yet, by his energy, skill, and, more than all, by his example, he restored order and confidence; and though numbering less than forty thousand men,

replenished, as it wasted away, by slender reinforcements, with it he attacked and cut to pieces several armies, the most magnificent Austria could furnish, finishing one of the most brilliant campaigns the world has ever witnessed, amid the tumultuous joy of the French. The next year he subjugated Lombardy, and forced the Austrian plenipotentiary, by his daring threats, to sign the treaty of Campo-Formio, which was most favorable to the French Republic. In the bloody battles of Millesimo, Montenotte, Lodi, Arcola, Castiglione, and Rivoli, he certainly acted as became a general fighting under the orders of his government, carrying on a defensive war with a boldness, skill and success, considering the superiority of the force opposed to him, deserving of the highest praise.

Headley on Napoleon's campaigns.

Returning to Paris in triumph, hailed everywhere as the saviour of France, he, notwithstanding, became tired of his inactive life, and still more weary of the miserable Directory to whose folly he was compelled to submit, and proposed the expedition to Egypt. This furnishes another charge against Bonaparte, and this war is denounced as aggressive and cruel, growing out of a mad ambition. That it was unjust, no one can deny; but instead of being a thing worthy of censure by the cabinets of Europe, it was simply carrying out their

own systems of policy. His designs on the East were just such as England had for years been prosecuting. The East was always to Bonaparte the scene of great enterprises, and Egypt furnished a basis to his operations, and at the same time would serve as a check to English encroachment in the Indies.

While the expedition to Egypt was experiencing the vicissitudes that characterized it, Austria, seeing that France had got the lion's share in Italy, joined with Naples, and again commenced hostilities. The French were driven back across the Apennines, and all the advantages gained there over Austria were being lost, when Bonaparte returned in haste from Egypt—overthrew the imbecile Directory—was proclaimed First Consul—and immediately set about the restoration of France. The consolidation of the government—the restoration of the disorganized finances—the pacification of La Vendée—the formation and adoption of a constitution, engrossed his mind, and he most ardently desired peace. He, therefore, the moment he was elected First Consul, wrote with his own hands two letters, one to the King of England, and the other to the Emperor of Germany; hoping by this frank and friendly course to appease the two governments, and bring about a general peace. He had acquired sufficient glory

Napoleon as First Consul. Headley.

as a military leader, and he now wished to resuscitate France, and become great as a civil ruler. In his letter to the King of England he uses the following language: "Must the war, Sire, which for the last eight years has devastated the four quarters of the world, be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can two of the most enlightened nations of Europe, stronger already and more powerful than their safety or their independence requires, sacrifice to ideas of vain glory the well-being of commerce, internal prosperity, and the peace of families? How is it they do not feel peace to be the first of necessities as the first of glories?" Similar noble, frank, and manly sentiments he addressed to the Emperor of Germany. There were no accusations in these letters, no recriminations, and no demands. They asked simply for negotiations to commence, for the spirit of peace to be exhibited, leaving it to after-efforts to settle the terms. Austria was inclined to listen to this appeal from the First Consul, and replied courteously to his letter. But she was trammelled by her alliance with England, and refused to enter into negotiations in which the British Empire was not represented. Pitt, on the contrary, returned an insulting letter to the French Minister—heaped every accusation on Bonaparte, recapitulated individual acts of violence, and laid

The same, continued.

them at the door of the French Republic, and charged it with designing to overthrow both religion and monarchy throughout the Continent. He declared that the English Government must see some fruits of repentance and amendment before it could trust the proffers of peace; and that the restoration of the Bourbon throne was the only guarantee she should deem sufficient of the good behavior of the French Government. Bonaparte, in reply, fixed the first aggressive acts clearly on the enemies of France, and then asked what was the cause of these irritating reminiscences—if war was to be eternal, because one or the other party had been the aggressor; and then adverting to the proposal that the Bourbons should be restored, asked, "What would be thought of France, if in her propositions she insisted on the restoration of the dethroned Stuarts, before she would make peace?" This home-thrust disconcerted the English Minister; and in reply he frankly acknowledged that this government did not wage war for the re-establishment of the Bourbon throne, but for the security of all governments, and that she would listen to no terms of peace until this security was obtained. This settled the question. England would have no peace while France continued to be a Republic. Bonaparte had foreseen all this, and finding he could not separate Austria

Napoleon's correspondence with Pitt.

from her English alliance, immediately set on foot preparations for war. Moreau was sent with a magnificent army into Swabia, to drive back the Austrians towards their capital; Masséna was appointed over the miserably provided Army of Italy, while he himself fell from the heights of San Bernard on the plains of Lombardy.

Results of battle of Marengo.

At the fierce battle of Marengo he reconquered Italy; while Moreau chased the vanquished Austrians over the Danube. Victory everywhere perched on the French standards, and Austria was ready to agree to an armistice, in order to recover from the disasters she had suffered. The slain at Montebello, around Genoa, on the plains of Marengo, in the Black Forest, and along the Danube, are to be charged over to the British Government, which refused peace.

Only council of war Napoleon ever called.

The only council of war Napoleon ever summoned was on the eve of the battle of Castiglione. The French army was surrounded on all sides and in a very critical position, and Bonaparte, who was commander-in-chief, summoned a council. All the generals, even Masséna, were in favor of retreating, until Augereau, pointing out the way of escaping from the difficulty, ended by saying: "Were you all to go, I shall remain, and with my division shall attack the enemy at daybreak." Bonaparte, struck by Augereau's arguments, said:

"Very well, I will stay with you." After that there was no more talk of retreat, and on the morn a brilliant victory, due in great part to the valor and the fine tactics of Augereau, assured the position of the French army in Italy for a long time. So it was when certain jealous tongues thought fit to slander Augereau in the presence of the Emperor, he answered: "Let us not forget that he saved us at Castiglione," and when he created his new nobility he named Augereau Duke of Castiglione.

Desire for fame. Bourrienne.

That he was anxious that his name should be inscribed on the pillar of fame with those of other great conquerors is but natural. Still he had his doubts, as the following will attest:

"Well, Bourrienne, a few grand deeds like this campaign and I may be known to posterity." "It seems to me," was the answer, "that you have already done enough to be talked about everywhere for some time." "Done enough!" said the hero of Marengo; "you are very kind! To be sure, in less than two years I have conquered Cairo, Paris, and Milan. Well, my dear fellow, if I were to die tomorrow I shouldn't fill half a page in a Universal History!"

I was informed by the Duke of Rovigo, and by many other officers who had served with the Emperor, that the humanity he displayed to his soldiers was on all occasions exemplary; that he was

frequently in the habit of riding over the field of battle after an action, accompanied by members of his staff, and by persons carrying restoratives of different kinds, for the purpose of resuscitating any of the wounded, in whom signs of life appeared, and that Napoleon had often spent hours in this pious employment. Amongst other instances, the Duke of Rovigo mentioned that after the battle of Wagram, Napoleon, accompanied by him and several others, rode over the field, and pointed out many of the wounded for assistance.

His humanity O'Meara.

Napoleon thus expressed himself: "The presence of the General is indispensable; he is the head, he is the whole of an army. It was not the Roman army that subdued Gaul, but Cæsar; it was not the Carthaginian army that made the Republic tremble at the gates of Rome, but Hannibal; it was not the Macedonian army that was on the Indus, but Alexander; it was not the French army that carried the war to the Weser and the Inn, but Turenne; it was not the Prussian army that for seven years defended Prussia against the greatest powers of Europe, but Frederick the Great."

"He slept on the field of battle at Wagram, and at Bautzen, even during the action, and completely within the range of the enemy's balls. On this subject he said that, independently of the necessity of obeying nature, these slumbers afforded a

Sleep at Wagram. Ibid.

general, commanding a very great army, the important advantage of enabling him to await, calmly, the reports and combinations of all his divisions, instead of perhaps being hurried away by the only event which he himself could witness."

Napoleon once said: "In my marches with the Army of Italy I never failed to put into the bow of my saddle a bottle of wine, some bread, and a cold fowl. This provision sufficed for the wants of the day,—I may even say that I often shared it with others. I thus gained time."

Napoleon's idea of the failure in Russia. O'Meara.

Napoleon, when asked to what he attributed his failure in the expedition to Russia, said: "I attributed it to the cold, the premature cold, and the burning of Moscow. I was a few days too late—I had made a calculation of the weather for fifty years before, and the extreme cold had never commenced until about the 20th of December, twenty days later than it began this time. While I was at Moscow, the cold was at three degrees C. of the thermometer, and was such as the French could with pleasure bear; but on the march the thermometer sunk eighteen degrees, and consequently nearly all the horses perished. In one night I lost nearly thirty thousand. The artillery, of which I had five hundred pieces, was in a great measure obliged to be abandoned; neither ammunition nor provisions could be carried. We could not,

NAPOLEON PRESENTING EAGLES TO *THE* ARMY

By J. L. David

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through the want of horses, make a reconnaissance, or send out an advance piquet of men on horseback to discover the way. The soldiers lost their spirits and their senses, and fell into confusion. The most trifling circumstance alarmed them. Four or five men were sufficient to terrify a whole battalion. Instead of keeping together, they wandered about in search of fire. Parties, when sent out on duty in advance, abandoned their posts, and went to seek the means of warming themselves in the houses. They separated in all directions, became helpless, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. Others lay down, fell asleep, a little blood came from their nostrils, and, sleeping, they died. In this manner thousands perished. The Poles saved some of their horses and artillery, but the French, and the soldiers of the other nations, were no longer the same men. In particular, the cavalry suffered. Out of forty thousand, I do not think that three thousand were saved."

The same, continued.

After landing from Elba and on his road to the Tuileries collecting, as he did, thousands of men to join him in the march, when three leagues from Gorp the Emperor found a battalion of the fifth regiment, a company of sappers, etc., in all seven or eight hundred men, stationed to oppose him. He accordingly sent Raoul to parley with the men,

but they would not hear him. Napoleon then alighting from his horse, marched straight for the detachment, followed by his guard, with arms turned downwards: "What, my friends," said he, "do you not know me? I am your Emperor; if there be a soldier among you, who is willing to kill his General, his Emperor, he may do it; here I am," placing his hand upon his breast. "Long live the Emperor!" was the answer, in a unanimous shout.

Anecdote of the return from Elba.

"Cradled in the camp, he was to the last hour the darling of the army. Of all his soldiers not one forsook him till affection was useless, and even then their first stipulation was for his safety. They well knew that if he was lavish of them, he was equally prodigal of himself; and that if he exposed them to peril, he repaid them with riches. The victorious veteran glittered with his gains, and the capital of France, gorgeous with the spoils of art, became the miniature metropolis of the universe."

Affection of his army. Labédoyère.

A grand review was held at Lyons just after the Emperor had landed on his return from Elba. The commanding officer remarked to his soldiers, that they were well clothed and well fed, that their pay might be seen upon their persons. "Yes, certainly," replied the grenadier to whom he addressed himself. "Well," continued the officer,

with a confident air, "it was not so under Bonaparte. Your pay was in arrears; he was in your debt." "And what did that signify," said the grenadier smartly, "if we chose to give him credit?"

On his return from Elba the situation seemed desperate. France was divided, lukewarm, and, in part, hostile. Napoleon addressed himself to the task of contending against a world in arms, with some of the confidence of his better days; and, notwithstanding increasing physical weakness, his genius, his energy, his unrivalled power of administration were made grandly manifest. He did not summon the nation to arms, true in this to his despotic instincts, and also because the appeal would have failed; nor did he make use, in the first instance, of the Conscription of 1815 in his hands, though he collected it as an ultimate reserve. But he turned to the very best advantage the ample and proved elements of military power, which, at this moment, abounded in France; and considering his position, the results were wonderful. The army was given its old organization again; the regiments, the colors, the eagles were restored; and it was raised out of the state of impotence, in which it had been left under the fallen monarchy, by the addition of thousands of the trained soldiers who had been disbanded by the late government, and of the flower of the National Guard.

Napoleon's position on his return from Elba. Morris.

The exact figures will probably never be ascertained; but it appears certain that, in March, 1815, the army of France could not have mustered fifty thousand soldiers, ready for the field, whereas by the middle of June it had one hundred and ninety thousand at least. This force was supported by two hundred thousand in reserve; and in a few months the armed force of the State would have exceeded six hundred thousand men. Meanwhile Paris and Lyons had been partly fortified; extraordinary exertions had been made to manufacture arms, to procure horses, and to prepare the material of war; and if we bear in mind what the condition of France was, the effort, as a whole, must be deemed gigantic, a marvellous example of organizing skill. Of the one hundred and ninety thousand men actually under arms, and forming his first available line, the Emperor had distributed about forty thousand to observe the eastern and southern frontiers; and he hoped to have one hundred and fifty thousand in his own hands for the operations of the campaign he had planned.

The army in 1815. Morris.

On Napoleon's march from Elba to the Tuileries it was a question whether the troops that were sent out to oppose him would fire upon those of his. Ney, who had command of them, when questioned on this point, said: "I will make them. I will take a musket from a grenadier and begin the

action myself! I will run my sword to the hilt in the body of the first man who hesitates to fire!" At the same time he wrote to the Minister of War at Paris that he hoped to see a fortunate close to this mad enterprise.

Napoleon and Marshal Ney. Bourrienne.

He then advanced to Lons-le-Saunier, where, on the night between the 13th and 14th of March, not quite three days after his vehement protestations of fidelity, he received, without hesitation, a letter from Bonaparte, inviting him, by his old appellation of the "Bravest of the Brave," to join his standard. With this invitation Ney complied, and published an order of the day that declared the cause of the Bourbons, which he had sworn to defend, lost forever.

It is pleaded in extenuation of Ney's defection that both his officers and men were beyond his control, and determined to join their old master, but in that case he might have given up his command and retired in the same honorable way that Marshals Macdonald and Marmont and several other generals did. But even among his own officers Ney had an example set him, for many of them, after remonstrating in vain, threw up their commands. One of them broke his sword in two and threw the pieces at Ney's feet, saying: "It is easier for a man of honor to break iron than to break his word."

During the retreat from Moscow Napoleon had, in case of accident, taken means to prevent his falling alive into the hands of the enemy. He procured from his surgeon, Yvan, a bag of opium, which he wore hung about his neck as long as danger was to be apprehended. He afterwards carefully deposited this bag in a secret drawer of his cabinet. On the night of the 12th he thought the moment had arrived for availing himself of this last expedient. The *valet de chambre*, who slept in the adjoining room, the door of which was half open, heard Napoleon empty something into a glass of water, which he drank, and then returned to bed. Pain soon extorted from him an acknowledgment of his approaching end. He then sent for the most confidential persons in his service. Yvan was sent for also; but learning what had occurred, and hearing Napoleon complain that the poison was not sufficiently quick in its effect, he lost all self-possession, and hastily fled from Fontainebleau. It is added that Napoleon fell into a long sleep, and that after copious perspiration every alarming symptom disappeared. The dose was either insufficient in quantity, or time had mitigated the power of the poison. It is said that Napoleon, astonished at the failure of his attempt, after some moments of reflection said: "God has ordained that I shall live!" And yield-

Napoleon takes poison on the return from Russia. Bourrienne.

ing to the will of Providence, which had preserved his existence, he resigned himself to a new destiny. The whole affair was hushed in secrecy.

Previous to the battle of Waterloo, the whole army was superb, and full of ardor; but the Emperor, more a slave than could have been credited to recollections and old habits, committed the grand fault of replacing his army under the command of its former chiefs, most of whom, notwithstanding their previous addresses to the King, did not cease to pray for the triumph of the imperial cause; yet were not disposed to serve it with that ardor and devotion demanded by imperious circumstances. They were no longer men, full of youth and ambition, generously prodigal of their lives to acquire rank and fame; but veterans, weary of warfare, who, having attained the summit of promotion, and being enriched by the spoils of the enemy, or the bounty of Napoleon, indulged no other wish than the peaceable enjoyment of their good fortune, under the shade of those laurels they had so dearly acquired. The colonels and generals who had entered upon their career subsequent to the former, murmured at finding themselves placed under their tutelage; even the soldiers were dissatisfied; but that feeling did not abate their confidence of victory, Napoleon being at their head.

Napoleon places his old generals in command, 1815. Labédoyère.

His influence on the army. Chaboulon.

"The ascendancy possessed by the Emperor," says Baron Chaboulon, "over the minds and courage of the soldiery was truly incomprehensible. A word, a gesture, was sufficient to inspire with enthusiasm, and make them face the most terrible dangers. If ordered to rush to such a point, although the temerity of the manœuvre might at first strike the good sense of the soldiers, they immediately reflected that their general would not have issued such a command without a motive, or have exposed them wantonly. "He knows what he is about," they would say, and immediately rushed on death, uttering shouts of "Long live the Emperor!"

His health previous to Waterloo. Bourrienne.

There can be no doubt that Napoleon was then suffering to an extent which enfeebled him, and to this cause we may put down the failure to attack earlier at Waterloo, etc. His refusal to support Ney and Murat at Borodino, and his strange neglect to push other divisions to the assistance of Vandamme on his perilous march to Culm to cut off the retreating Allies after Dresden, are previous instances of the effect of disease on his actions and on his fortunes. Something may be put down to his own consciousness of loss of prestige, perhaps also of hope. Years before he had told Metternich of the crushing effect of failure (Metternich, vol. iii., p. 512).

"Ah, vous ne savez pas quelle puissance est le bonheur! Lui seul donne du courage. Ne pas oser, c'est ne rien faire qui vaille, et on n'ose jamais qu'à la suite du bonheur! Le malheur affaise et flétrit l'âme et des lors on ne fait rien de bon." ("You do not know what strength is given by good luck! It alone gives one courage. It is only by daring that one does anything worth doing, and it is only from the feeling of good luck that one ever dares anything. Misfortune crushes and blasts one's mind; thenceforward one does nothing well.") He rode to his last battle conscious of loss of prestige and failing powers. The general who flew from field to field in Italy, who, the night before Jena, would not rest till he had himself seen the artillery in position, and who multiplied himself in 1814, is not to be recognized in the Waterloo campaign. Wellington triumphed over a great general, but it was not the Napoleon of Rivoli and Austerlitz whom he faced.

The same, continued.

A convenient statement of the strength of the different armies in 1815 will be found at pp. 8, 9, and 20 of Dorsey Gardner. Roughly speaking we may say that Napoleon, with a strength of about 206,000 men in June, which might have been in time increased to 327,000, had to be prepared for an attack by an allied force of 731,000 men. If we take the armies which actually fought in the Wa-

Comparative size of the armies. Bourrienne.

terloo Campaign, Napoleon was still outnumbered. Fortunately there is not much question about the strength of the three forces. Wellington had almost 106,000 men, including Germans, Dutch, and *les braves Belges;* Blücher had nearly 117,000, making a grand total of 223,000. Against this force Napoleon only had 122,000 or 123,000 men. The courteous civilian reader will pardon being reminded that it is by these numbers the performances of Wellington and Blücher must be judged. There is no special merit in the general who, having superior numbers, brings superior numbers to bear. It is the commander who, having equal or inferior numbers, manages to bring superior numbers on the decisive point, who is to be praised. Wellington was so much inferior in strength to Napoleon at Waterloo because he had placed 18,000 men at Halle, where, as a matter of fact, they were useless. The absence of this force reflects credit on the men, not on the General who won Waterloo. If we blame Napoleon for the absence of D'Erlon from Ligny and of Grouchy from Waterloo, we must remember the force at Halle.

Wellington and Blücher. Bourrienne.

One of the most important struggles of modern times was now about to commence—a struggle which for many years was to decide the fate of Europe. Napoleon and Wellington at length stood opposite one another. They had never met;

the military reputation of each was of the highest kind, the career of both had been marked with signal victory; Napoleon had carried his triumphant legions across the stupendous Alps, over the north of Italy, throughout Prussia, Austria, Russia, and even to the foot of the Pyramids, while Wellington, who had been early distinguished in India, had won immortal renown in the Peninsula, where he had defeated, one after another, the favorite Generals of Napoleon. He was now to make trial of his prowess against their master.

Battle of Waterloo. Bourrienne.

Among the most critical events of modern times the battle of Waterloo stands conspicuous. This sanguinary encounter at last stopped the torrent of the ruthless and predatory ambition of the French, by which so many countries had been desolated. With the peace which immediately succeeded it confidence was restored to Europe.

For full details of the Waterloo Campaign see Siborne's "History of the War in France and Belgium in 1815," giving the English contemporary account; Chesney's "Waterloo Lectures," the best English modern account, which has been accepted by the Prussians as pretty nearly representing their view; and "Waterloo," by Lieut.-Colonel Prince Edouard de la Tour d'Auvergne (Paris, Plon, 1870), which may be taken as the French modern account. There are also the accounts in

Various authors on Waterloo.

Thiers (tome xx., livre lx.), valuable, but somewhat florid, as are all M. Thiers's writings, and that in Jomini (tome iv.) Jomini also published a summary of the campaign of 1815, and in the American edition of his "Napoleon" the summary is substituted for the chapter in tome iv. Hamley, "Operations of War," 1872 edition, pp. 133, 179, and 389, has a very valuable summary. Most readers will probably be contented with Dorsey Gardner's "Quatre-Bras, Ligny, and Waterloo" (Kegan Paul, 1882), where will be found a summary of all the writers on the subject, very conveniently designed, but containing extracts from Victor Hugo and MM. Erckmann-Chatrian, and several poets, interesting as specimens of the style and of the power of imagination of those writers, but distracting and not of any historical value.

In judging this campaign the reader must guard himself from looking on it as fought by two different armies—the English and the Prussian—whose achievements are to be weighed against one another. Wellington and Blücher were acting in a complete unison, rare even when two different corps of the same nation are concerned, but practically unexampled in the case of two armies of different nations. Thus the two forces became one army, divided into two wings, one, the left (or Prussian wing) having been defeated by the main

body of the French at Ligny on the 16th of June, the right (or English wing) retreated to hold the position at Waterloo, where the left (or Prussian wing) was to join it, and the united force was to crush the enemy. Thus there is no question as to whether the Prussian army saved the English by their arrival, or whether the English saved the Prussians by their resistance at Waterloo. Each army executed well and gallantly its part in a concerted operation. The English would never have fought at Waterloo if they had not relied on the arrival of the Prussians. Had the Prussians not come up on the afternoon of the 18th of June the English would have been exposed to the same great peril of having alone to deal with the mass of the French army, as the Prussians would have had to face if they had found the English in full retreat. To investigate the relative performances of the two armies is much the same as to decide the respective merits of the two Prussian armies at Sadowa, where one held the Austrians until the other arrived. Also, in reading the many interesting personal accounts of the campaign, it must be remembered that opinions about the chance of success in a defensive struggle are apt to vary with the observer's position, as, indeed, General Grant has remarked in answer to criticisms on his army's state at the end of the first day of the battle of

Bourriennes estimate of Waterloo.

Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing. The man placed in the front rank or fighting line sees attack after attack beaten off. He sees only part of his own losses, as most of the wounded disappear, and he also knows something of the enemy's loss by seeing the dead in front of him. Warmed by the contest, he thus believes in success. The man placed in rear, or advancing with reinforcements, having nothing of the excitement of the struggle, sees only the long and increasing column of wounded stragglers, and perhaps of flyers. He sees his companions fall without being able to answer the fire. He sees nothing of the corresponding loss of the enemy, and he is apt to take a most desponding view of the situation. Thus Englishmen reading the accounts of men who fought at Waterloo are too ready to disbelieve representations of what was taking place in the rear of the army, and to think Thackeray's life-like picture in "Vanity Fair" of the state of Brussels must be overdrawn. Indeed, in this very battle of Waterloo, Zieten began to retreat when his help was most required, because one of his aides-de-camp told him that the right wing of the English was in full retreat. "This inexperienced young man," says Muffling, p. 248, "had mistaken the great number of wounded going, or being taken, to the rear to be dressed, for fugitives, and accordingly made a false report."

The same, continued.

Further, reserves do not say much of their part, or sometimes no part, of the fight, and few people know that at least two English regiments, actually present on the field of Waterloo, hardly fired a shot till the last advance.

Wellington's opinion of his army. Bourrienne.

The Duke described the army as the worst he ever commanded, and said that if he had had his Peninsula men, the fight would have been over much sooner. But the Duke, sticking to ideas now obsolete, had no picked corps. Each man, trusting in and trusted by his comrades, fought under his own officers and under his own regimental colors. Whatever they did not know, the men knew how to die, and at the end of the day a heap of dead told where each regiment and battery had stood.

We shall here give Napoleon's own opinion of the battle of Waterloo.

Napoleon's own opinion of Waterloo. Ibid.

"The plan of the battle," said he, "will not in the eyes of the historian reflect any credit on Lord Wellington as a general. In the first place, he ought not to have given battle with the armies divided. They ought to have been united and encamped before the 15th. In the next, the choice of ground was bad, because if he had been beaten he could not have retreated, as there was only one road leading through the forest in his rear. He also committed a fault which might have proved

the destruction of all his army, without its ever having commenced the campaign, or being drawn out in battle; he allowed himself to be surprised. On the 15th I was at Charleroi, and had beaten the Prussians without his knowing anything about it. I had gained forty-eight hours of manœuvres upon him, which was a great object; and if some of my generals had shown that vigor and genius which they had displayed on other occasions, I should have taken his army in cantonments without ever fighting a battle. But they were discouraged, and fancied that they saw an army of 100,000 men everywhere opposed to them. I had not time myself to attend to the minutiæ of the army. I counted upon surprising and cutting Wellington up in detail. I knew of Bulow's arrival at eleven o'clock, but I did not regard it. I had still eighty chances out of a hundred in my favor. Notwithstanding the great superiority of force against me I was convinced that I should obtain the victory. I had about 70,000 men, of whom 15,000 were cavalry. I had also 250 pieces of cannon; but my troops were so good that I esteemed them sufficient to beat 120,000. Of all those troops, however, I only reckoned the English as being able to cope with my own. The others I thought little of. I believe that of English there were from 35,000 to 40,000. These I esteemed to be as good and as

Napoleon's opinion of Waterloo, continued.

brave as my own troops; the English army was well known latterly on the Continent, and besides, your nation possesses courage and energy. As to the Prussians, Belgians, and others, half the number of my troops were sufficient to beat them. I only left 34,000 men to take care of the Prussians. The chief causes of the loss of that battle were, first of all, Grouchy's great tardiness and neglect in executing his orders; next, the *grenadiers à cheval* and the cavalry under Guyot, which I had in reserve, and which were never to leave me, engaged without orders and without my knowledge; so that after the last charge, when the troops were beaten and the English cavalry advanced, I had not a single corps of cavalry in reserve to resist them, instead of one which I esteemed to be equal to double their own number. In consequence of this the English attack succeeded, and all was lost. There was no means of rallying. The youngest general would not have committed the fault of leaving an army without reserve, which, however, occurred here, whether in consequence of treason or not I cannot say. These were the two principal causes of the loss of the battle of Waterloo."

The same, continued.

"If Lord Wellington had intrenched himself," continued Napoleon, "I would not have attacked him. As a general his plan did not show talent. He certainly displayed great courage and obsti-

nacy; but a little must be taken away even from that when you consider that he had no means of retreat, and that had he made the attempt not a man of his army would have escaped. First, to the firmness and bravery of his English troops, for the English fought with the greatest courage and obstinacy, he is principally indebted for the victory, and not to his own conduct as a general; and next, to the arrival of Blücher, to whom the victory is more to be attributed than to Wellington, and more credit is due him as a general; because he, although beaten the day before, assembled his troops and brought them into action in the evening. I believe, however," continued Napoleon, "that Wellington is a man of great firmness. The glory of such a victory is a great thing; but in the eye of the historian his military reputation will gain nothing by it."

The same, continued.

Napoleon said: "If you had lost the battle of Waterloo what a state would England have been in. The flower of your youth would have been destroyed; for not a man, not even Lord Wellington, would have escaped." I observed here that Lord Wellington had determined never to leave the field alive. Napoleon replied: "He could not retreat. He would have been destroyed with his army if, instead of the Prussians, Grouchy had come up." I asked him if he had not believed for some time

that the Prussians who had shown themselves were a part of Grouchy's corps. He replied: "Certainly; and I can now scarcely comprehend why it was a Prussian division and not that of Grouchy." I then took the liberty of asking whether, if neither Grouchy nor the Prussians had arrived, it would not have been a drawn battle. Napoleon answered: "The English army would have been destroyed. They were defeated at midday. But accident, or more likely destiny, decided that Lord Wellington should gain it. I could scarcely believe that he would have given me battle; because if he had retreated to Antwerp, as he ought to have done, I must have been overwhelmed by the armies of three or four hundred thousand men that were coming against me. By giving me battle there was a chance for me."

The same, continued.

"It was the greatest folly to divide the English and Prussian armies. They ought to have been united; and I cannot conceive the reason of their separation. It was folly in Wellington to give me battle in a place where, if defeated, all must have been lost, for he could not retreat. There was a wood in his rear, and but one road to gain it. He would have been destroyed. Moreover, he allowed himself to be surprised by me. This was a great fault. He ought to have been encamped from the beginning of June, as he must have known that I

Napoleon's talk with O'Meara, of Waterloo.

intended to attack him. He might have lost everything. But he has been fortunate; his destiny has prevailed; and everything he did will meet with applause. My intentions were to attack and destroy the English. This I knew would produce an immediate change of Ministry. The indignation against them for having caused the loss of forty thousand of the flower of the English army would have excited such a popular commotion that they would have been turned out. The people would have said: 'What is it to us who is on the throne of France, Louis or Napoleon? Are we to sacrifice all our blood in endeavors to place on the throne a detested family? No, we have suffered enough. It is no affair of ours—let them settle it amongst themselves.' They would have made peace."

Wellington's remarks on Napoleon. O'Meara.

Wellington on his part was outspoken in his appreciation of his great adversary. "Lord Wellington was here (in Paris) for a few days," writes the Hon. J. W. Ward to Miss Berry in May, 1814; "his dukedom met him on his arrival. He was received in a manner that could not but give great pleasure to every Englishman. He seems quite unspoilt by success. He has not even contracted that habit of silence and reserve which so often accompanies dignity and favor. But he is just as he was—gay, frank, and ready to converse. I counted

myself lucky in meeting him one of the days he was here at Aberdeen's, with Schwarzenberg, Stadion, and Prince Maurice of Lichtenstein. Stadion observed that he believed he had never been engaged against Bonaparte in person. The Duke answered instantly: 'No; and I am very glad I never was! I would at any time rather have heard that a reënforcement of forty thousand men had joined the French army than that he had arrived to take the command.' I had heard the opinion ascribed to him before, but I was glad he had the liberality to repeat it after Bonaparte's fall." "Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry," edited by Lady Theresa Lewis, vol. iii., p. 16.

THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

It was not until the 17th of June that the advanced guard of the French army, at six at night, arrived on the plains of Waterloo; a delay occasioned by unfortunate occurrences upon the road, otherwise the forces would have gained the spot by three o'clock in the day. This circumstance seemed to disconcert the Emperor extremely, who, pointing to the sun, exclaimed with peculiar emphasis: "What would I not give to be this day possessed of the power of Joshua, and enabled to retard thy march for two hours!"

Labédoyère's account of Waterloo.

The night of the 17th was dreadful, and seemed

to presage the calamities of the day, as the violent and incessant rains did not allow a moment's rest to the army. The bad state of the roads also prevented the arrival of provisions, and most of the soldiers were without food. The Emperor thought that Lord Wellington, separated from the Prussians, would not venture to maintain his position in the forest, and the following morning was therefore surprised that the English had not quitted their stations, but on the contrary seemed disposed to accept battle. He then made several generals reconnoitre the English, and from one ascertained that they were defended "by an army of cannon, and mountains of infantry." Napoleon immediately ordered General Grouchy to push the Prussians briskly, and approach the main army as speedily as possible, as he was probably about to engage in a grand battle. In the meantime Blücher had escaped Grouchy, and opened a communication with Wellington through Ohaim. The French officer employed to convey the Emperor's letter to Grouchy thought proper to take an immense circuit, and during that interval the officers consulted by the Emperor were of different sentiments. Some of the most brave, but more prudent than others, remonstrated that the ground was deluged by rain; that the troops, particularly the

Battle of Waterloo. Labédoyère.

cavalry, could not manœuvre, while the English army would have the immense advantage of awaiting the French on firm ground within its intrenchments, and that it would therefore be preferable to endeavor to turn them. The Emperor, however, having heard all, determined to attack the English in front.

During the preceding night, Napoleon had issued the necessary orders for battle the next day, although many things indicated it would not take place. During the four days since hostilities had commenced, by a brilliant victory the Emperor had surprised and separated the English and the Prussian armies, which was much to his glory, but not sufficient for the situation in which he was then placed. Had it not been for three hours' loss of time, which the left, under Marshal Ney, had occasioned in the afternoon of the 17th, he would have attacked Wellington and the allies on that day, which most probably might have crowned the success of the campaign. As it was, the Emperor went out on foot about one in the morning, accompanied by his grand marshal, and visited the whole line of the main guards. The forest of Soignes, occupied by the British, appeared as one continued blaze, while the horizon between that spot and the farms of La Belle Alliance and La Haye Sainte, was brightened with the fires of numerous biv-

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ouacs; the most profound silence reigning around. The Anglo-Belgian army was wrapped in sleep, owing to the fatigues it had undergone on the four preceding days, and on arriving near the wood of Hougomont, the Emperor heard the noise of a column in march, which soon ceased, and the rain fell in torrents. Several officers sent to reconnoitre, and others who returned to headquarters at half-past three, confirmed the opinion that the British had made no movement. At four o'clock the scouts brought in a peasant, who had served as a guide to a brigade of English cavalry, which had proceeded to secure a position on the left, at the village of Ohaim. Two Belgian deserters, who had just quitted their regiments, also reported that their army was preparing for battle, and that no retrogade movement had taken place; that Belgium prayed for the success of the Emperor, while the English and the Prussians were alike unpopular.

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The French troops bivouacked amidst deep mud, and the officers thought it impossible to give battle on the following day, the grounds being so moistened, that artillery and cavalry could not possibly manœuvre, while it would require twelve hours of fine weather to dry the soil. The dawn began to appear, and the Emperor returned to headquarters, fully satisfied at one great fault

committed by Wellington; though very apprehensive that the bad weather would prevent him from profiting by it. The atmosphere, however, cleared up, and at five o'clock some feeble rays of the sun darted forth. The forces displayed by the enemy were variously estimated; but the French officers most accustomed to such calculations considered them, including the corps of flankers, as amounting to ninety thousand men, which agreed with the general accounts. The French army was then only sixty-nine thousand strong, yet victory appeared to them as certain, the troops being excellent; whereas, in the enemy's army, the English amounting to forty thousand at most, could alone be calculated upon in the same manner.

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At eight o'clock the Emperor's breakfast was served, at which many general officers sat down. "The enemy's army," said Napoleon, "is superior to ours by nearly a fourth; there are, notwithstanding, ninety chances in our favor to ten against us." "Without doubt," said Marshal Ney, who had just entered, "if the Duke of Wellington were simple enough to wait for your majesty; but I come to announce that his columns are already in full retreat, and disappearing in the forest of Soignes." "You have seen badly," replied the Emperor; "it is too late; he would expose himself to certain ruin by such a step; he has thrown the dice—they are

now for us." At that moment some officers having ridden over the plain, stated that the artillery could manœuvre, though with difficulty, which would be greatly diminished in another hour. The Emperor instantly mounted, and proceeded to the skirmishers opposite La Haye Sainte, where he again reconnoitred the enemy's line, and directed Haxo, general of engineers and a confidential officer, to approach it nearer, in order to ascertain whether any redoubts had been thrown up, or intrenchments raised; who soon returned, saying he had not observed the least trace of any fortifications. After some moments' reflection, the Emperor dictated the order of battle, which was taken down by two generals seated on the ground, after which the aides-de-camp conveyed it to the different corps already under arms. The army then moved forward, marching in eleven columns, which formed with so much precision that no confusion whatever arose. The Emperor then proceeded through the ranks, and it would be difficult to express the enthusiasm which animated all the soldiery; the infantry elevated their caps on their bayonets; the cuirassiers, dragoons, and light cavalry their helmets on their sabres. Meanwhile the Emperor gave his exclusive orders, and proceeded at the head of his guard to the summit of the six W's, on the heights of Rossomme. From that spot

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he had a complete view of the two armies, as the prospect extended far to the right and the left of the field of battle. Marshal Ney obtained the honor of commanding the grand attack of the centre, and dispatched one of his aides-de-camp to announce that everything was ready. Previous to giving his final orders, the Emperor, however, wished to cast another glance over the whole, when he perceived in the direction of St. Lambart a dark mass, wearing the appearance of troops. Upon this he asked the adjutant-general what he saw near St. Lambart? "I think I see five or six thousand men," replied the General. "It is probably Grouchy." All the glasses of the staff were then applied in that direction, but as the weather was rather foggy, some asserted that there were no troops, but merely trees; while others maintained that columns were in position there. That state of uncertainty was terminated by an order for three thousand light cavalry to effect a junction, should they belong to Marshal Grouchy, or to hold them in check if they proved to be enemies. In a quarter of an hour a Prussian black hussar was brought in, being the bearer of a letter, who proved very intelligent, and gave all the information required. It then appeared that the column at St. Lambert was the advance guard of the Prussian General Bülow, who was coming up with

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thirty thousand men. The Duke of Dalmatia immediately dispatched the intercepted letter and the report of the hussar to Marshal Grouchy, reiterating the order for his march without delay on St. Lambart, in order to take General Bülow's corps in the rear. It was then eleven o'clock, and the officer had only to proceed four or five leagues in order to reach Grouchy, and promised to be with that officer in the course of an hour. A short time after, General Daumont sent to say that some well-mounted scouts, who preceded him, had met patrols of the enemy in the vicinity of St. Lambart; and that he had sent chosen patrols in various directions to communicate with Marshal Grouchy, for the purpose of conveying orders and reports. The Emperor immediately ordered Count Lobau to cross the causeway of Charleroi, and support the light cavalry towards St. Lambart; selecting a good intermediate position, where he might, with ten thousand men, check thirty thousand Prussians if necessary, or attack them briskly the moment he should hear the first cannon shots of the troops which it was supposed Marshal Grouchy had detached in their rear. Those events caused some change in the Emperor's first plan of battle; being deprived of ten thousand men, whom he was thus obliged to send against General Bülow. He had then only fifty-nine thousand men to

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oppose to ninety thousand of the enemy, which force had just been augmented by thirty thousand men, already ranged on the field of battle. "We had ninety chances for us in the morning," said Napoleon to the Duke of Dalmatia, "but the arrival of Bülow reduces them to thirty; we have still, however, sixty against forty; and if Grouchy repairs the horrible fault he has committed, by amusing himself at Gembloux, victory will be thereby more decisive; for the corps of Bülow in that case must be entirely lost."

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It was then noon, and the skirmishers engaged on all the line; but there was no severe action, except on the left in the wood, and at the castle of Hougomont. The Emperor then sent an order to Marshal Ney, directing him to commence the fire of his batteries, take possession of the farm of La Haye Sainte, occupy the village, and thus intercept all communication between the enemy and Bülow's corps. Eighty guns soon made an immense havoc over all the left of the English line, so that one of its divisions was entirely destroyed by round and case-shot. In the meantime the Emperor, perceiving that Wellington was preparing a grand charge of cavalry on the left, galloped to the spot; the charge however had been made, whereby a column of infantry had been repulsed on the low ground, two eagles captured, and seven pieces of

cannon disorganized. A brigade of Milhaud's cuirassiers being ordered to charge the enemy's horse, the latter were broken in turn, and the greater part remained on the field; the guns were also retaken, and the infantry protected. Many charges of foot and cavalry followed; and after three hours' hard fighting, the farm of La Haye Sainte, in spite of the resistance of the Scotch regiments, was occupied by the French infantry, the fifth and sixth English divisions being destroyed, and the gallant General Picton left dead upon the field. During that combat the Emperor rode through the line of cuirassiers and that of the guard, amidst the discharges of the enemy's musketry and artillery, on which occasion the brave General Devaux was killed at his side, and succeeded by General Lallemand, also wounded shortly after.

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Disorder at this period began to prevail among the English, so that the baggage, wagon-train, and wounded, seeing the French approach the causeway of Brussels, and the principal opening of the forest, hastened to effect their retreat; all the English, Belgians, and Germans, who had been sabred by the cavalry, equally precipitated themselves on Brussels.

"The ranks of the English," according to the statement of Blücher, "were thrown into disorder;

the loss had been considerable; so that the reserves had advanced into the line, and the situation of the Duke of Wellington was extremely critical. Still greater disorder prevailed in the rear of the English army; the roads of the forest of Soignes were encumbered by wagons, artillery, and baggage, deserted by their drivers; while numerous bands of fugitives had spread confusion and affright throughout Brussels and the neighboring roads. Had not the French successes been interrupted by the march of Bülow, or if Marshal Grouchy, as the Emperor had every reason to hope, had followed at the heels of the Prussians, a more glorious victory could not have been obtained by the French, as it has been affirmed on all hands that not a single man of the Duke of Wellington's army could have escaped."

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It was then four o'clock, and victory might have decided for Napoleon, had not General Bülow's corps just then effected its powerful diversion. At two o'clock the Emperor learned from Gembloux, that Marshal Grouchy, instead of setting out from that place by dawn of day, had not quitted his camp so late as ten o'clock.

As the Prussians then approached, the fire from their field pieces fell on the causeway, in front and rear of La Belle Alliance, where the Emperor was standing with his guard; and the Prussian case-

shot ploughed up the ground. Napoleon then ordered General Duchesme to advance with the young guard, when in a quarter of an hour their formidable artillery commenced its fire, and soon acquired such a superiority that undulations were observed in the Prussian lines; yet they still continued outflanking the French right, till opposed by Lieut.-General Morand with four battalions of the Old Guard, and sixteen pieces of cannon. General Bülow was then repulsed, and by degrees his whole line fell back. It was then seven o'clock.

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Two hours had elapsed since Count d'Erlon had taken possession of La Haye Sainte, outflanked all the English left, and the right of General Bülow. The English cavalry being repulsed by the cuirassiers and chasseurs of the guard, abandoned the field of battle between La Haye Sainte and Mount St. Lean, which the whole of their left had occupied, being deprived of all means of retreat on the right. On beholding those brilliant charges, cries of victory were heard throughout the field, upon which the Emperor said: "It is too soon by an hour; we must, however, support what is done." He then sent an order to the cuirassiers of Kellermann, who were on the left, to move forward briskly, and support the cavalry on the low grounds. At this instant General Bülow threatened the flank and rear of the army, wherefore it was im-

portant not to make any retrograde motion, but maintain that position, though prematurely taken. At this critical juncture the rapid advance of three thousand cuirassiers, defiling under the cannonade of the Prussians, and shouting "Long live the Emperor!" made a happy diversion, and the cavalry advanced, as if in pursuit of the English army; but the forces of Bülow still made some progress on the French flank and rear. The soldiers and officers then sought to divine, in the gestures of their chief, whether they were conquerors or in danger, while he breathed nothing but confidence. This was the fiftieth regular battle in which Napoleon had commanded within twenty years. In the meantime the division of the heavy cavalry of the guard, in the second line, under General Guyot, behind Kellermann's cuirassiers, followed at a brisk trot to the lower ground. On perceiving that movement the Emperor sent Count Bertrand to recall him; as it was his reserve; but the order arrived too late, and a retrograde movement was still dangerous. Thus was the Emperor deprived of his reserve of cavalry as early as five o'clock. That corps, if properly applied, might have ensured him victory; however, those twelve thousand select horse performed prodigies of valor; overthrowing the more numerous cavalry of the enemy, breaking through many squares of infantry, disor-

Battle of Waterloo. Labédoyère.

ganizing their ranks, capturing sixty pieces of cannon, and seizing six stands of colors in the midst of the squares, which trophies were presented to the Emperor at Belle Alliance, by three chasseurs of the guard and three cuirassiers. The English believed the battle lost a second time, and Ponsonby's brigade being charged by the red lancers of the guard commanded by General Colbert, was broken, and its General overthrown by several lance wounds. The Prince of Orange was also severely wounded, and on the point of being taken; but this gallant body of cavalry was not supported, and a strong mass of infantry being still required to repel General Bülow's attack, they were obliged to confine themselves to the preservation of the field of battle, which they had thus conquered.

Battle of Waterloo. Labédoyère.

About seven o'clock, when Bülow's division was repulsed, and the cavalry still keeping its ground, the victory was gained, whereby sixty-nine thousand French had beaten one hundred and twenty thousand of the enemy; joy was in every countenance, and hope invigorated every heart.

That state of exultation, however, was not to continue, as Marshal Blücher was rapidly approaching the scene of action, with thirty-one thousand fresh troops, when Wellington, who was then in full retreat, halted. The latter General had been in the utmost despair, often wishing,

"Either night or the Prussians would arrive;" whereas, instead of defeat, he then saw his safety. The brigade of English cavalry at Ohaim also joined him; while the French beheld victory snatched from their grasp by the arrival of Blücher, who increased the allied army in line to nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men; that is to say, in the proportion of two and a half against one. Perceiving those numerous columns arrive, some regiments made a retrograde movement which the Emperor perceived. It was of the highest importance to restore firmness to the cavalry; and aware that it would take a quarter of an hour to rally his guard, he put himself at the head of four battalions and advanced on the left in front of La Haye Sainte, sending aides-de-camp along the whole line to cheer the troops, by pretending that Marshal Grouchy had arrived, and with a little firmness victory would be restored. In a word, however, all the efforts of the French were useless, the plain of which they had been in possession was soon inundated by the enemy; La Haye retaken, when two thousand English cavalry penetrated between General Reille and the guard. The disorder then became dreadful throughout the field of battle, and the Emperor placed himself under the protection of one of the squares of his troops. One last battalion of reserve, the illustrious and un-

Battle of Waterloo. Labédoyère.

fortunate remains of the granite columns of the fields of Marengo, had remained unshaken amidst the tumultuous waves of the army. The Emperor retired into the ranks of those brave fellows, still commanded by Cambronne! He formed them into a square, and advanced at their head to meet the enemy. On that occasion all his generals, Ney, Soult, Bertrand, Drouot, Corbineau, de Flahaut, Labédoyère, Gourgaud, etc., drew their swords and became soldiers. The old grenadiers, incapable of fear for their own lives, were alarmed at the danger threatening that of the Emperor, and conjured him to withdraw. "Retire," said one of them, "you see that Death shuns you." The Emperor resisted, and commanded them to fire; when the surrounding officers seized the bridle of his horse, and thus forcibly dragged him away. Cambronne and his brave fellows then crowded round their expiring eagles, and bade Napoleon an eternal adieu; at which juncture the English, moved by their heroic resistance, conjured them to surrender. "No," said Cambronne, "the guard can die, but never yield!" At the same moment they all rushed on the enemy with shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" their blows being worthy the expiring conquerors of Austerlitz, Jena, Wagram, and Montmirail. The English and Prussians, from whom they still detained the field of victory, then

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united against that handful of heroes, and cut them down. Some, covered with wounds, fell to the ground weltering in their blood; others, more fortunate, were killed on the spot; in fine, they whose hopes were not answered by death, literally shot one another, in that they might not survive their companions in arms, or die by the hands of their enemies. Night greatly augmented the disorder. If the troops could have seen the Emperor, they might have rallied, whereas nothing could be effected with certainty. The guard retreated, the fire of the enemy being only four hundred toises in rear of the army, and the causeways cut off, while four pieces of cannon planted there, kept a brisk fire upon the plain; the last discharge from which wounded Lord Uxbridge. The Emperor could not retreat, except through the fields, and there was no time to be lost, as cavalry, artillery, and infantry were all confusedly mingled together. The staff only gained the little town of Jemmapes, hoping to be able to rally a rear guard there; but the disorder was horrible, wherefore all its efforts were vain. It was then eleven o'clock.

Battle of Waterloo. Labédoyère.

Never did the French army fight better than on this occasion; it performed prodigies of valor, and the superiority of the troops, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, over the English and their allies was such, that had not Blücher arrived with his second

corps of Prussians, the victory over the Anglo-Belgian army would have been complete, though aided by Bülow's thirty thousand Prussians; that is to say, it would have been gained by sixty-nine thousand men opposed to nearly double their number; for, as before stated, the British and Belgians, in the field before Blücher's arrival, amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men.

Battle of Waterloo. Labédoyère

The allies, according to their own accounts, lost sixty thousand men, viz., eleven thousand three hundred English; three thousand five hundred Hanoverians; eight thousand Belgians, troops of Nassau, Brunswick, etc.; those of the Anglo-Belgian army amounted to twenty-two thousand eight hundred; to which add thirty-eight thousand Prussians; making a total of sixty thousand eight hundred men. The losses of the French, including those during the route, and until their arrival at Paris, amounted to nearly forty thousand.

The Imperial Guard supported its ancient reputation, but at length found itself under the most unfavorable circumstances, being outflanked on the right, while the left was inundated by enemies, and those who fled the field as the guard began to enter into line. Lieut.-General Duchesme, a brave old soldier, covered with wounds, was made prisoner whilst attempting to rally a rear guard, Count de Lobau being taken under similar circum-

stances, and General Cambronne remained on the field, severely wounded. Out of twenty-four English generals, twelve were killed or badly wounded and the Dutch lost three.

Independent of the fault on the part of Grouchy, in not coming up to the field of battle, the French accounts allow "that many other causes had great influence upon the fortunes of that day. In other times, the French, though so inferior in number, would have gained the victory, which indeed the obstinate and unyielding bravery of the English troops alone prevented them from obtaining."

Battle of Waterloo. Labédoyère.

At the most critical juncture of this battle, when the irresistible firmness of the British had been put to the severest test, those who with the General himself had begun to doubt the fortune of the day, the army, as one of our own writers observed, "was suddenly and unexpectedly cheered by hearing the sound of the Prussian cannon." It was also remarked, that the French had retired from the last attack in confusion, and therefore the Duke of Wellington immediately advanced with the whole line of infantry and cavalry, and attacking the enemy in turn, succeeded in forcing him from the heights previously in his possession, while the Prussians under Marshal Blücher were equally active and successful on the enemy's flank. About nine o'clock the French quitted the field,

leaving behind them, as far as Lord Wellington could judge, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with ammunition, etc.

The appearance of the plain next day was dreadful; being so much covered with blood that it appeared to have been completely flooded; the dead horses were innumerable; the peasantry employed in burying the slaughtered, generally stripped the bodies first.

Battle of Waterloo. Labédoyère.

The road to Waterloo from Brussels lies through the little village of Ixelles; ascending thence, you enter the deep shades of the forest of Soignes, enlivened at intervals by white cottages and little villages. At almost every step were to be seen the remains of tattered clothes, broken wheels and carriages, shoes, belts, and scabbards, infantry caps torn to pieces, Highland bonnets, etc., covered with dirt, strewn along the roadside, or thrown among the trees. Those mournful relics had mostly belonged to the wounded, who crawled from the fatal field; but, unable to proceed further, had laid down to die; those also who expired in the wagons on the way to Brussels were hastily interred.

Upon the field the graves a few days after appeared innumerable. In some parts fire had been used to consume the bodies, leaving behind heaps of black dust. There, while strangers mused with

THE RAVINE AT WATERLOO

By V. Checa

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Upon the field the [illegible] a few days after appeared innumerable [illegible] some parts fire had been used to consume the bodies, leaving behind heaps of black dust. There, while strangers mused with

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the most serious concern, the native peasantry, women, old men and boys, clamored for the sale of articles of which they were possessed. From the complete cuirass, the valuable sabre, carbine, and case of pistols, down to buttons torn from jackets of the slain, and letters taken from the pockets of the dead, all were readily purchased.

Of the devotedness of the French soldiery to the person of Bonaparte, innumerable instances might be adduced. One soldier, who, after the battle, had suffered the amputation of his left arm in the hospital, requested the limb might be given him; when, seizing it with his remaining hand, he threw it in the air, exclaiming to his comrades, "Vive l'Empereur!" Another, upon whom a surgical experiment was making, for the purpose of extracting a musket ball which had lodged in his side, advised the surgeon to cut a little nearer the heart, "as there he would find the Emperor."

Battle of Waterloo. Labédoyère.

A French author relates that, at the close of the battle of Waterloo, when the charge made by Napoleon had failed, and the English in turn attacked, some of their cavalry and tirailleurs approached within a hundred and fifty toises of the spot where the Emperor was standing, there being only Soult, Drouot, Bertrand, and himself, while not far distant was a small French battalion, drawn up in a square. Some shots from two or

three field-pieces, then discharged to drive away the English cavalry, that still continued to approach, carried away the Marquis of Anglesea's leg, upon which Napoleon placed himself with the column, and wished to charge, exclaiming: "Il faut mourir ici; il faut mourir sur le champ de bataille.—We must die here; we must die on the field of battle!" The English were still firing, and they expected every moment to be charged. Soult then seizing Napoleon's bridle, exclaimed that he would not be killed, but taken prisoner; and finally with the rest compelled him to leave the field. Napoleon was so fatigued that on the road to Jemapes he would frequently have fallen from his horse had he not been supported by General Gourgaud and two other persons, who remained his only attendants for some time.

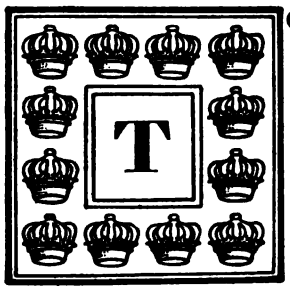
Battle of Waterloo. Labédoyère.

The cessation of the firing, and precipitate retreat of the army, too powerfully confirmed the fatal issue of this contest. The capture and plundering of the French baggage in some degree retarded the pursuit; but the victors came up with the French at Quatre-Bras, and took the Emperor's clothes; the superb diamond necklace which Princess Borghese had given him, and the very landau, which in 1813 had escaped the disasters of Moscow. The unfortunate fugitives whom the Prussians overtook were treated with the utmost

barbarity, as even those who had thrown away their arms were massacred without remorse. Four Prussians killed a French general after having disarmed him, while another general, who had surrendered to a Prussian officer, was, notwithstanding, run through the body. Several French officers blew out their brains to escape similar brutality.

NAPOLEON:
EMPEROR AND STATESMAN
1799 - 1815

NAPOLEON:
EMPEROR AND STATESMAN
1799-1815



TO sleep at the Tuileries, in the bed chamber of the Kings of France, was all that Bonaparte wanted; the rest would follow in due course. He was willing to be satisfied with establishing a principle the consequences of which were to be afterwards deduced. Hence the affectation of never inserting in official acts the name of the Tuileries, but designating that place as the Palace of the Government. The first preparations were modest, for it did not become a good republican to be fond of pomp. Accordingly Lecomte, who was at that time architect of the Tuileries, merely received orders to *clean* the palace, an expression which might bear more than one meaning, after the meetings which had been there. For this purpose the sum of 500,000 francs was sufficient. Bonaparte's drift was to conceal, as far as possible, the importance he attached to the change of his Consular domicile.

Napoleon in the Tuileries. Bourrienne.

But little expense was requisite for fitting up apartments for the First Consul. Simple ornaments, such as marbles and statues, were to decorate the Palace of the Government.

His selection of statues. Bourrienne.

Nothing escaped Bonaparte's consideration. Thus it was not merely at hazard that he selected the statues of great men to adorn the gallery of the Tuileries. Among the Greeks he made choice of Demosthenes and Alexander, thus rendering homage at once to the genius of eloquence and the genius of victory. The statue of Hannibal was intended to recall the memory of Rome's most formidable enemy; and Rome herself was represented in the Consular Palace by the statues of Scipio, Cicero, Cato, Brutus, and Cæsar—the victor and the immolator being placed side by side. Among the great men of modern times he gave the first place to Gustavus Adolphus, and the next to Turenne and the great Condé—to Turenne in honor of his military talent, and to Condé to prove that there was nothing fearful in the recollection of a Bourbon. The remembrance of the glorious days of the French navy was revived in the statue of Duguay-Trouin. Marlborough and Prince Eugène had also their places in the gallery, as if to attest the disasters which marked the close of the great reign; and Marshal Saxe, to show that Louis XV.'s

reign was not without its glory. The statues of Frederick and Washington were emblematic of false philosophy on a throne and true wisdom founding a free state.

Finally the names of Dugomier, Dampierre, and Joubert were intended to bear evidence of the high esteem which Bonaparte cherished for his old comrades—those illustrious victims to a cause which had now ceased to be his.

The masquerade of official dresses was not the only one which Bonaparte summoned to the aid of his policy. At that period of the year VIII., which corresponded with the carnival of 1800, masques began to be resumed at Paris. Disguises were all the fashion, and Bonaparte favored the revival of old amusements; first, because they were old, and next, because they were the means of diverting the attention of the people; for, as he had established the principle that on the field of battle it is necessary to divide the enemy in order to beat him, he conceived it not less advisable to divert the people in order to enslave them. Bonaparte did not say *panem et circenses*, for I believe his knowledge of Latin did not extend even to that well known phrase of Juvenal, but he put the maxim in practice. He accordingly authorized the revival of balls at the opera, which they

Napoleon revives amusements Bourrienne.

who lived during that period of the Consulate know was an important event in Paris. Some gladly viewed it as a little conquest in favor of the old régime; and others, who for that very reason disapproved of it, were too shallow to understand the influence of little over great things. The women and the young men did not bestow a thought on the subject, but yielded willingly to the attractions of pleasure. Bonaparte, who was delighted at having provided a diversion for the gossiping of the Parisian salons, said one day: "While they are chattering about all this, they do not babble upon politics, and that is what I want. Let them dance and amuse themselves as long as they do not thrust their noses into the councils of the government; besides, Bourrienne," added he, "I have other reasons for encouraging this, I see other advantages in it. Trade is languishing; Fouché tells me that there are great complaints. This will set a little money in circulation; besides, I am on my guard about the Jacobins. Everything is not bad because it is not new. I prefer the opera balls to the saturnalia of the Goddess of Reason. I was never so enthusiastically applauded as at the last parade."

Napoleon's opinion of the Parisians. Bourrienne.

"Well, Bourrienne," said Napoleon, "to-night, at least, we will sleep in the Tuileries. You are better off than I; you are not obliged to make a spec-

EMPEROR NAPOLEON

Drawn by Vigneux, Engraved by Henry. Print belonging to the Count Primoli, of Rome, and bearing the following interesting testimony written by the Prince Gabrielli himself, a relative of the Emperor : "Only portrait of the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte that resembles him ; bought in Paris by the Prince, Don Pietro Gabrielli, in December, 1809."

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tacle of yourself, but may go your own road there. I must, however, go in procession; that disgusts me; but it is necessary to speak to the eyes. That has a good effect on the people. The Directory was too simple, and therefore never enjoyed any consideration. In the army simplicity is in its proper place; but in a great city, in a palace, the Chief of the government must attract attention in every possible way, yet still with prudence. Josephine is going to look out from Lebrun's apartments; go with her, if you like; but go to the cabinet as soon as you see me alight from my horse."

The First Consul gave directions himself for what little alterations he wanted in his own apartments. A state bed—not that of Louis XVI. —was placed in the chamber next his cabinet, on the south side, towards the grand staircase of the Pavilion of Flora. I may as well mention here that he very seldom occupied that bed, for Bonaparte was very simple in his manner of living in private, and was not fond of state, except as a means of imposing on mankind. At the Luxembourg, at Malmaison, and during the first period that he occupied the Tuileries, Bonaparte, if I may speak in the language of common life, always slept with his wife. He went every evening down to Josephine by a small staircase leading from a

The First Consul's apartments. Bourrienne.

wardrobe attached to his cabinet, and which had formerly been the chapel of Marie de Medici. I never went to Napoleon's bed-chamber, but by this staircase.

Napoleon had been severely censured and criticised for making, as he did, counts, dukes, earls, etc., from the peasantry. His explanation of this is as follows: "Whensoever I touched that string, it created a tremor in the public mind, like that experienced by the horse when his loins are pressed too tightly." The Emperor then stated he felt that France wanted an aristocracy; "but that time was required, and recollections attached to history. I have created princes and peers, and have bestowed great wealth, but I could not make real nobles, owing to the meanness of their connections." Napoleon then remarked that it had been his intention to have gradually intermarried them with the old nobility, as he had done in some instances. The King, he thought, ought to have adopted the same plan, instead of advancing so rapidly those who, for the last twenty years, had been "buried in the garrets of London." He knew, he said, that a king might have his friends like another man, and was naturally desirous of rewarding those who had shown attachment to him; but that we should act according to circumstances, and, let what would be said, "Paris was

His idea of an aristocracy. Bourrienne.

well worth a mass." "In England," said the Emperor, "the King may indulge private partiality in the appointment of his court officers, because there he is only a part of the government. A monarch, with you, may be ill, nay, a little deranged in his intellects, and affairs still go regularly on because everything is arranged between the ministry and parliament; but, in France, the sovereign is the source of everything, and importance is, consequently, attached to his most trifling actions. He is, as it were, in a palace of crystal, where all regards are directed towards him."

The same, continued.

It must not be forgotten that notwithstanding the fact that republicanism, equality, etc., etc., were the aim of the French, that they had been educated for centuries to believe in Empire, and that the French of all people in the world are the ones who most admire pomp and display. Most, if not all, Napoleon's generals sprang from the sod, and he had taught them to believe that the greatest nobility was that acquired by noble deeds, in fact that that was the date and birth of chivalry. In according to the valorous, dukedoms, earldoms, etc., he was simulating the age of chivalry and starting his decorations as even they were started.

Napoleon had won the esteem of many of the leading men of Europe; he had struck down and humbled continental powers; he had made the

conquered feel the weight of his sword; but he had quelled Jacobinism and put down anarchy; and he was popular in Austria, in Prussia, and even in England. One of the most curious spectacles of the day was the magnificence of the First Consul's Court, and the general tendency to the restoration of monarchic government. Napoleon had taken up his abode in the Tuileries; he had placed the unburied remains of Turenne, torn from St. Denis in the madness of 1793, in the Invalides with extraordinary pomp, in honor of the greatest warrior of the fallen monarchy; he surrounded himself with the ceremonial of royalty; and already some of the old courtiers of Versailles, returned from exile, did their liege lord homage. The change was seen in that mirror of usage, fashion; the loose immodest garb, the classical tresses, the free manners of the beauties of Paris were replaced by stately costumes, and ordered etiquette; and though military brilliancy was still predominant, there was a return to the observances of the old monarchy. The only proscribed class was the wreck of the Terrorists; and Canning remarked with truth in the House of Commons, that already "the likeness of a kingly crown" was apparent around Napoleon's head.

The First Consul's Court. Morris.

With the same easy confidence he vaulted to the throne of France, and felt an empire rest on his

shoulders, apparently unconscious of the weight. He looked on the revolutionary agitation, the prostration and confusion of his kingdom, without alarm; and in his eagle glance pierced at once the length and breadth and depth and height of the chaos that surrounded him. Yet, so natural does he seem in this position that, instead of trembling for his safety, we find ourselves inspired by the same confidence that sustained him, and expecting great and glorious results. He seems equal to anything, and acts as if he himself was conscious he was a match for the world. Stern, decided, plain, he speaks to the King of England, the Emperor of Russia, of Austria, and to all Europe, in the language of a superior rather than of an equal. Angry, yet alarmed at the haughty tone of this plebeian king, the crowned heads of Europe gathered hastily together, to consult what they should do. With the same quiet confidence with which he saw the mob advancing on his batteries in the garden of the Tuileries, he beheld their banded armies move down on his throne. This single man—this plebeian, stood up among the monarchies of Europe, and, bending his imperial frown on the faithless kings that surrounded him, smote their royal foreheads with blow after blow, till the world stood aghast at his presumption and audacity. Their scorn of his ple-

Napoleon's confidence in himself. Las Cases.

beian blood gave way to consternation, as they saw him dictating terms to them in their own capitals; while the freedom with which he put his haughty foot on their sacred majesties filled the bosoms of their courtiers with horror. He wheeled his cannon around their thrones with a coolness and inflexibility of purpose that made "the dignity which doth hedge a king" a most pitiful thing to behold. He swept, with his fierce chariot, through their ancient dynasties, crushing them out as if they had been bubbles in his path; then, proudly pausing, let them gather up their crowns again. While, astonished at the boldness of his irruption into Egypt, they were listening to hear again the thunder of his guns around the pyramids, they suddenly saw his mighty army hanging around the crest of the Alps; and before the astonishing vision had fairly disappeared, the sound of his cannon was heard shaking the shores of the Danube, and his victorious eagles were waving wings over the capital of the Austrian Empire. One moment his terrible standards would be seen along the shores of the Rhine; the next, by the banks of the Borysthenes, and then again fluttering amid the flames of Moscow. Europe never had such a wild waking up before, and the name of Napoleon Bonaparte became a spell-word, with which to conjure up horrible shapes of evil.

Effect of Napoleon's success on Europe. Las Cases.

Victory deserted the standards of the enemy the moment that the presence of Napoleon among his legions was announced in their camp, and when it was whispered through the ranks that his eye was sweeping the battle-field, the arm of the foeman waxed weak; and he conquered as much by his name as by his armies. The boldness of movement, giving him such immense moral power, arose from his confidence in himself. Even when his plans seemed madness and folly, so confidently did he carry them on that men believed he saw resources of which they were ignorant, and hence their course became cautious and wavering, and defeat certain.

Napoleon a great statesman. Las Cases.

Napoleon was a great statesman as well as a military leader. His conversations in his exile evince the most profound knowledge of political science, while the order he brought out of chaos, and indeed the glorious resurrection he gave to France, show that he was not great in theory alone. He was equal to Cæsar as a warrior, to Bacon in political sagacity, and above all other kings in genius.

Perhaps Napoleon exhibits nowhere in his life his amazing grasp of thought and power of accomplishment more than in the year and a half after his arrival from Egypt. Hearing that the republic was everywhere defeated, and Italy wrested

from its grasp, he immediately set sail for France, and, escaping the English fleet in a most miraculous manner, protected by "his star," reached France in October. By November he had overthrown the inefficient Directory, and been proclaimed First Consul with all the attributes, but none of the titles, of king. He immediately commenced negotiations with the allied powers, while at the same time he brought his vast energies to bear on the internal state of France. Credit was to be restored, money raised, the army supplied, war in Vendée suppressed, and a constitution given to France. By his superhuman exertions and all-pervading genius, he accomplished all this, and by next spring was ready to offer Europe peace or war. Order sprang from chaos at his touch—the tottering government stopped rocking on its base the moment his mighty hand fell upon it—wealth flowed from the lap of poverty and vast resources were drawn from apparent nothingness. He created the Bank of France—put the credit of the government on a firm basis—began the Codes, spanned the Alps with roads—sufficient monuments in themselves of his genius—and restored the complete supremacy of the laws throughout the kingdom. All this he accomplished in six months, and at the close of the armistice was ready for war.

Napoleon's statesmanship displayed. Las Cases.

As a just and noble monarch, he was superior to nine-tenths of the kings that ever reigned in Europe, and as an intellectual man, head and shoulders above them all.

The attempt has also been made to fix the charge of cruelty and oppression upon him, from the joy manifested in France at his overthrow, and the cursings and obloquy that followed his exile. But the first exultation that follows a new peace is not to be considered the sober feeling of the people. His return from Elba is overwhelming evidence against such accusations. Without any plotting beforehand, any conspiracy to make a diversion in his favor, he boldly cast himself upon the affections of the people. An established throne, a strong government, and a powerful army were on one side—the love of the people on the other, and yet, soldier as he was, he believed the latter stronger than all the former put together. What a sublime trust in the strength of affection does his stepping ashore with his handful of followers exhibit!

Love of the people for Napoleon. Las Cases.

He is not compelled to plant his cannon against a single town; power returns to him not through terror, but through love. He is not received with the cringing of slaves, but with the open arms of friends, and thus his course towards the capital becomes one triumphal march. The power of the

Bourbons disappears before the returning tide of affection, like towers of sand before the waves; and, without firing a gun, Napoleon again sits down on his recovered throne, amid the acclamations of the people.

The First Consul had, as we should never forget, strong sympathy with the ideas of the past; he appreciated the grandeur of the old order of feudal, kingly and mediæval Europe; and he understood how vast was the influence of even its purely honorary Edwards and dignities, as elements of "the cheap defence of nations." But orders of knighthood and distinctions of the kind had been exclusive privileges of the noble classes; the community had had no part in them; and it was a happy and most fruitful thought of Napoleon to create a national order of merit to which Frenchmen of every degree could aspire. He established the famous Legion of Honor; its rolls were thrown open to the deserving of all ranks and of all callings; and the success of the experiment has been decisive. It has encouraged excellence and probity in the State; and an institution of the kind has found a place in almost every country of Europe.

The Legion of Honor. O'Meara.

During the sitting of the Congress the First Consul learnt that the government couriers conveyed to favored individuals in Paris various

things, but especially the delicacies of the table, and he ordered that this practice should be discontinued. On the very evening on which this order was issued Cambacérès entered the salon, where I was alone with the First Consul, who had already been laughing at the mortification which he knew this regulation would occasion to his colleague: "Well, Cambacérès, what brings you here at this time of night?" "I come to solicit an exception to an order which you have just given to the Director of the Posts. How do you think a man can make friends unless he keeps a good table? You know very well how much good dinners assist the business of the government." The First Consul laughed, called him a gourmand, and, patting him on the shoulder, said: "Do not distress yourself, my dear Cambacérès; the couriers shall continue to bring you your dindes aux truffes, your Strasburg pâtés, your Mayence hams, and your other tidbits."

Story of Napoleon and Cambacérès. Bourrienne.

The year 1801 was, moreover, marked by the fatal creation of special tribunals, which were in no way justified by the urgency of circumstances.

The unfortunate Prince of Tuscany was very ill-calculated to recommend, by his personal character, the institutions to which the nobility clung with so much fondness. Nature had endowed him with an excellent heart, but with very limited tal-

ents; and his mind had imbibed the false impress consequent upon his monastic education. He resided at Malmaison nearly the whole time of his visit to Paris. Madame Bonaparte used to lead the Queen to her own apartments; and as the First Consul never left his closet except to sit down to meals, the aides-de-camp were under the necessity of keeping the King company, and of endeavoring to entertain him, so wholly devoid was he of intellectual resources. It required, indeed, a great share of patience to listen to the frivolities which engrossed his attention. His turn of mind thus being laid open to view, care was taken to supply him with the playthings usually placed in the hands of children; he was, therefore, never at a loss for occupation. His nonentity was a source of regret to us; we lamented to see a tall, handsome youth, destined to rule over his fellow-men, trembling at the sight of a horse, and wasting his time in the game of hide and seek, or at leap-frog, and whose whole information consisted in knowing his prayers, and in saying grace before and after meals. Such, nevertheless, was the man to whom the destinies of a nation were about to be committed! When he left France to repair to his kingdom, "Rome need not be uneasy," said the First Consul to us after the farewell audience,

The Prince of Tuscany. Bourrienne.

" there is no danger of *his* crossing the Rubicon." (" Memoirs of the Duke of Rovigo," vol. i., p. 363.)

I once heard the First Consul, in a conversation with his colleague, Cambacérès, treat his royal protegé, the King of Etruria, very severely. Of course His Majesty was not present. " This good king," said he, " evinces no great concern for his dear and well-beloved subjects. He spends his time in gossiping with old women, to whom he is very lavish of his praise to me, though in secret he murmurs bitterly at the thought of owing his elevation to the hateful French Republic." " It is alleged," observed M. Cambacérès, " that you wished to disgust the French people with kings by showing them this fine specimen of royalty, as the Spartans used to disgust their children with intoxication by showing them a drunken slave." " Not at all, not at all," resumed the First Consul, " I have no wish to excite a distaste for royalty; but the presence of His Majesty, the King of Etruria, will vex a good many worthy folks who are striving hard to revive the taste for the Bourbons."

The King of Etruria. Bourrienne.

The Consular Court was in general extremely irreligious; nor could it be expected to be otherwise, being composed chiefly of those who had assisted in the annihilation of all religious worship in France, and of men who, having passed their lives in camps, had oftener entered a church in

Italy to carry off a painting than to hear the mass. Those who, without being imbued with any religious ideas, possessed that good sense which induces men to pay respect to the belief of others, though it be one in which they do not participate, did not blame the First Consul for his conduct, and conducted themselves with some regard to decency. But on the road from the Tuileries to Notre Dame, Lannes and Augereau wanted to alight from the carriage as soon as they saw that they were being driven to mass, and it required an order from the First Consul to prevent their doing so. They went, therefore, to Notre Dame, and the next day Bonaparte asked Augereau what he thought of the ceremony. "Oh! it was all very fine," replied the General; "there was nothing wanting, except the million of men who have perished in the pulling down of what you are setting up." Bonaparte was much displeased at this remark.

Napoleon's respect for mass. Bourrienne.

It is strange that Bourrienne does not allude to one of the first arbitrary acts of Napoleon, the discussions on which formed part of those conversations between Napoleon and his brother Lucien, of which Bourrienne complained to Josephine he knew nothing. In 1763 France had ceded to England the part of Louisiana on the east of the Mississippi, and the part on the west of that river,

with New Orleans, to Spain. By the treaty negotiated with Spain by Lucien Bonaparte in 1800 her share was given back to France. On the 30th of April, 1803, Napoleon sold the whole to the United States for 80,000,000 francs ($16,000,000), to the intense anger of his brothers, Joseph and Lucien. Lucien was especially proud of having obtained the cession, for which Napoleon was, at that time, very anxious; but both brothers were horrified when Napoleon disclosed how little he cared for constitutional forms by telling them that if the legislature, as his brothers threatened, would not ratify the treaty, he would do without the ratification.

The sale of Louisiana to the United States. Thiers.

Napoleon's most obvious motives were want of money and the certainty of the seizure of the province by England, as the rupture with her was now certain. But there was perhaps another cause. The States had already been on the point of seizing the province from Spain, which had interfered with their trade.

Of the sum to be paid, 20,000,000 francs were to go to the States, to cover the illegal seizures of American ships by the French navy, a matter which was not settled for many years later. The remaining 60,000,000 were employed in the preparations for the invasion of England. The transaction is a remarkable one, as forming the final

withdrawal of France from North America (with the exception of some islands on the Newfoundland coast), where she had once held such a proud position. It also eventually made an addition to the number of slave States.

Napoleon's irritability. Bourrienne.

The pain which the First Consul felt increased his irritability. Perhaps many of the acts of this epoch of his life should be attributed to illness. At the time in question his ideas were not the same in the evening as they had been in the morning; and often in the morning he would tear up, without the least remark, notes he had dictated to me at night and which he had considered excellent. At other times I took it upon myself not to send to the *Moniteur*, as he wished me to do, notes which, dictated by annoyance and irascibility, might have produced a bad effect in Europe. When the next day he did not see the article, I attributed this to the note being late, or to the late arrival of the courier. But I told him it was no loss, for it would be inserted the next day. He did not answer at once, but a quarter of an hour afterwards he said to me: "Do not send my note to the *Moniteur* without showing it to me." He took it and re-read it. Sometimes he was astonished at what he had dictated to me, and amused himself by saying that I had not understood him properly. "That is not much good, is

it?" "'Pon my word, I don't quite know." "Oh, no, it is worthless; what say you?" Then he bowed his head a little and tore up the paper. Once when we were at the Tuileries he sent me at two o'clock in the morning a small note in his writing, in which was, "To Bourrienne. Write to Maret to make him erase from the note which Fleurieu has read to the Tribunate the phrase [spelt "frase"] concerning Costaz, and to soften as much as possible what concerns the reporter of the Tribunate."

Napoleon at the Council of State. Bourrienne.

Since March, 1802, he had attended the sittings of the Council of State with remarkable regularity. Even while we were at the Luxembourg he busied himself in drawing up a new code of laws to supersede the incomplete collection of revolutionary laws, and to substitute order for the sort of anarchy which prevailed in the legislature. The men who were most distinguished for legal knowledge had coöperated in the laborious task, the result of which was the code first distinguished by the name of the Civil Code, and afterwards called the Code Napoléon. The labors of this important undertaking being completed, a committee was appointed for the presentation of the code. This committee, of which Cambacérès was the president, was composed of MM. Portalis, Merlin de Douai, and Tronchet. During all the

time the discussions were pending, instead of assembling as usual three times a week, the Council of State assembled every day, and the sittings, which on ordinary occasions only lasted two or three hours, were often prolonged to five or six. The First Consul took such interest in these discussions that, to have an opportunity of conversing upon them in the evening, he frequently invited several members of the Council to dine with him. It was during these conversations that I most admired the inconceivable versatility of Bonaparte's genius, or rather, that superior instinct which enabled him to comprehend at a glance, and in their proper point of view, legislative questions to which he might have been supposed a stranger. Possessing as he did, in a supreme degree, the knowledge of mankind, ideas important to the science of government flashed upon his mind like sudden inspirations.

The Code Napoléon. Bourrienne.

The Code Napoléon was drawn up under Napoleon's orders and personal superintendence. Much had been prepared under the Convention, and the chief merits of it were due to the labors of such men as Tronchet, Portalis, Bigot de Preameneu, Maleville, Cambacérès, etc. But it was debated under and by Napoleon, who took a lively interest in it. It was first called the "Code Civil," but in 1807 was named "Code Napoléon,"

or eventually "Les Cinq Codes de Napoléon." When completed in 1810, it included five codes—the Code Civil, decreed March, 1803; Code de Procedure Civile, decreed April, 1806; Code de Commerce, decreed September, 1807; Code d'Instruction Criminelle, decreed November, 1808; and the Code Penal, decreed February, 1810. It had to be retained by the Bourbons, and its principles have worked and are slowly working their way into the law of every nation. Napoleon was justly proud of this work.

Anecdote of Napoleon's knowledge of Roman Law. Labédoyère.

When Bonaparte was forming the Code Napoléon, he astonished the Council of State by the readiness with which he illustrated any point in discussion, by quoting whole passages *ex tempore* from the Roman Civil Law—a subject that might seem entirely foreign to him, as his whole life had been passed in the "tented field." On being asked by Treilhard how he had acquired so familiar a knowledge of law affairs, he replied: "When merely a lieutenant, I was unjustly put under arrest. The little room assigned for my prison contained no furniture but an old chair and cupboard; in the latter was a ponderous volume, that proved to be a digest of the Roman law. As I had neither paper, pens, ink nor pencil, you may easily imagine that book was a valuable prize to me. It was so voluminous, and the leaves so covered by mar-

ginal notes, in manuscript, that, had I been confined a hundred years, I could never have been idle. I was only ten days deprived of my liberty, but, on recovering it, I was saturated with Justinian and the decisions of the Roman legislators. It was thus I acquired my knowledge of the Civil Law."

"My code," said he, "had singularly diminished law suits, by placing numerous causes within the comprehension of every individual." But there still remained much for the legislator to accomplish. Not that he could hope to prevent men from quarreling; this they have done in all ages; but he might have prevented a third party in society from living upon the quarrels of the other two, and even stirring up disputes to promote their own interest. "It was, therefore, my intention to establish the rule that lawyers should never receive fees except when they gained causes. Thus, what litigations would have been prevented! On the first examination of a cause, a lawyer would have rejected it, had it been at all doubtful. There would have been no fear that a man, living by his labor, would have undertaken to conduct a lawsuit from mere motives of vanity; and if he had, he would himself have been the only sufferer in case of failure. But my idea was opposed by a multitude of objections, and as I had no time

His own opinion of the Code Napoléon. Las Cases.

to lose, I postponed the further consideration of the subject. Yet I am still convinced," added he, "that the scheme might, with certain modifications, have been turned to the best account."

The immense number of letters which were addressed to the First Consul is scarcely conceivable. They contained requests for places, protestations of fidelity and, in short, they were those petitionary circulars that are addressed to all persons in power. These letters were often exceedingly curious, and I have preserved many of them; among the rest was one from Durosel Beaumanoir, an emigrant who had fled to Jersey. This letter contains some interesting particulars relative to Bonaparte's family. It is dated Jersey, 12th of July, 1800, and the following are the most remarkable passages it contains:

Letter from Durosel Beaumanoir.

"I trust, General, that I may, without indiscretion, intrude upon your notice, to remind you of what, I flatter myself, you have not totally forgotten, after having lived eighteen or nineteen years at Ajaccio. But you will, perhaps, be surprised that so trifling an affair should be the subject of the letter which I have the honor to address to you. You cannot have forgotten, General, that when your late father was obliged to take your brothers from the college of Autun, from whence he went to see you at Brienne, he was unprovided

with money, and he asked me for twenty-five louis, which I lent him with pleasure. After his return he had no opportunity of paying me, and when I left Ajaccio your mother offered to dispose of some plate in order to pay the debt. To this I objected, and told her that I would wait until she could pay me at her convenience, and previous to the breaking out of the Revolution I believe it was not in her power to fulfil her wish of discharging the debt.

Letter from Durosel Beaumanoir, continued.

"I am sorry, General, to be obliged to trouble you about such a trifle. But such is my unfortunate situation that even this trifle is of some importance to me. Driven from my country, and obliged to take refuge in this island, where everything is exceedingly expensive, the little sum I have mentioned, which was formerly a matter of indifference, would now be of great service to me.

"You will understand, General, that at the age of eighty-six, after having served my country well for sixty years, without the least interruption, not counting the time of emigration, chased from every place, I have been obliged to take refuge here, to subsist on the scanty succor given by the English Government to the French emigrant. I say 'emigrant,' because I have been forced to be one. I had no intention of being one, but a horde of brigands, who came from Caen to my house to

assassinate me, considered I had committed a great crime in being the senior general of the canton and in having the Grand Cross of St. Louis; this was too much for them; if it had not been for the cries of my neighbors my door would have been broken open, and I should have been assassinated; and I had but time to fly by a door at the back, only carrying away what I had on me. At first I retired to Paris, but there they told me that I could do nothing but go into a foreign country, so great was the hate entertained for me by my fellow-citizens, although I lived in retirement, never having any discussion with any one. Thus, General, I have abandoned all I possessed, money and goods, leaving them at the mercy of what they call the nation, which has profited a good deal by this, as I have nothing in the world, not even a spot to put my foot on. If even a house had been reserved for me, General, I could ask for what depends on you, for I have heard it said that some emigrants have been allowed to return home. I do not even ask this favor, not having a place to rest my foot. And, besides, I have with me here an exiled brother, older than I am, very ill and in perfect second childhood, whom I could not abandon. I am resigned to my unhappy fate, but my sole and great grief is that not only I myself have been ill-treated, but that my fate has, contrary to

The same, continued.

the law, injured relations whom I love and respect. I have a mother-in-law eighty years old, who has been refused the dower I had given her from my property, and this will make me die a bankrupt if nothing is changed, which makes me miserable.

"I acknowledge, General, that I know little of the new style, but, according to the old form, I am your humble servant.

"Durosel Beaumanoir."

Napoleon's emotion on hearing letter. Bourrienne.

I read this letter to the First Consul, who immediately said: "Bourrienne, this is sacred! Do not lose a minute. Send the old man ten times the sum. Write to General Durosel that he shall be immediately erased from the list of emigrants. What mischief those brigands of the Convention have done! I can never repair it all." Bonaparte uttered these words with a degree of emotion which I rarely saw him evince. In the evening he asked me whether I had executed his orders, which I had done without losing a moment.

While we were at the Luxembourg, on, as I recollect, the 25th of January, 1800, Bonaparte said to me during the breakfast: "Bourrienne, my resolution is taken. I shall have Ouvrard arrested." "General, have you proofs against him?" "Proofs indeed! He is a money-lender, a monopo-

lizer; we must make him disgorge. All the contractors, all the provision agents, are rogues. How have they got their fortunes? At the expense of the country, to be sure. I will not suffer such doings. They possess millions, they roll in an insolent luxury, while my soldiers have neither bread nor shoes! I will have no more of that! I intend to speak on the business to-day in the Council, and we shall see what can be done."

Napoleon on contractors. Bourrienne.

When Napoleon was in Italy he was told by a courier who had just arrived from Paris that the people were unhappy and disgruntled. Napoleon at once guessed the cause. Paris had been dull; they had nothing to excite them or talk about. He immediately sent word to Paris to have the dome of the Invalides gilded. This act was a success. They saw something going on, concluded money was plenty and went to work contentedly, and also resumed their old time merry-makings.

His idea of amusing the people.

Speaking of the war between France and Austria M. de Champagny painted Napoleon in the midst of his labors, dangers, military combinations and all those fatigues which he shared with his soldiers, at the same time holding the thread of government in his hand, at a distance of three hundred leagues from Paris; entering into the most minute details, seeing everything with his

own eyes, knowing all events without any intermediate agency, and sending from Ulm, Munich, Vienna, and his bivouac, as well as from the château of Austerlitz, those numerous decrees recorded in the bulletin of the laws, affording the most undeniable proofs of his prodigious activity, and administrative labors.

Napoleon annexes Venetian Republic. Instructions to Talleyrand.

After a diplomatic audience, he said to Talleyrand in a commanding tone of voice in the presence of all his aides-de-camp and generals: "Write this afternoon by an extraordinary courier to my minister at Geneva, Salicetti, to prepare the Doge and the people for the immediate incorporation of the Ligurian Republic with my Empire. Should Austria dare to murmur, I shall within three months also incorporate the ci-devant Republic of Venice with my Kingdom of Italy." "But, Sire, but," uttered the Minister trembling. "There exist no 'buts,' and I will listen to no 'but,'" interrupted His Majesty. "Obey my orders without further discussions. Should Austria dare to arm I shall before next Christmas make Vienna the headquarters of a fiftieth military division. In an hour I expect you with the despatches ready for Salicetti."

The Emperor habitually entered his closet before six in the morning, and seldom quitted it till night.

Impatience is generally incompatible with order and precision; but Napoleon, destined to resemble no other person, added to the fire of genius the methodical habits of cold and little minds. He, for the most part, took care to arrange his numerous papers with his own hands, each having its settled place; and he always carefully returned everything to its destined spot, after using it; so that, compared with him, the most methodical clerk would have appeared but a bungler. His first business was to read his correspondence, and such despatches as had arrived during the night; he then laid aside the interesting letters, and threw the rest on the floor, which he called his "answered." He would then proceed to examine the copies of letters opened at the post-office, which were burnt immediately, as if anxious to annihilate all traces of the abuse of power, of which he had been guilty. He finished by casting an eye over the newspapers, and would sometimes remark: "That's a good article; whose is it? He must know everything." Those several tasks ended, he set to work; and it may be said without exaggeration, that he was then as extraordinary and incomparable as when at the head of his armies. As he would not entrust to anyone the supreme direction of the government, he scrutinized everything himself, so that it is easy to conceive the

Napoleon's method of work. Labédoyère.

multiplicity of objects on which he had to fix his attention. Independently of his ministers, the Duke of Bassano, commandant of the first division of Paris, the prefect of police, the inspector-general of gendarmerie, the major-general of his guard, the grand marshal of the palace, the great officers of the crown, the aides-de-camp, and orderly officers on missions, sent him daily circumstantial reports, which he had to examine, and answer immediately, it being a maxim with the Emperor never to delay till the morrow. It must not however be supposed that he satisfied himself with a superficial glance; he read every report through, and examined every voucher attentively. The almost superhuman sagacity wherewith he was gifted, frequently enabled him to perceive errors that had escaped the scrutinizing eyes of his ministers, when he corrected their labors, but he would still more frequently fashion the whole anew, from beginning to end; so that what had been a fortnight's work for the whole ministry, scarcely cost the genius of Napoleon ten minutes. The Emperor rarely sat down, but dictated as he walked about, not liking to reiterate his words; so that if asked for the repetition of anything not clearly understood, he answered impatiently "I said," and went on.

Personal attention to details. Labédoyère.

While I was with Bonaparte he often talked to me about the life in the Châteaux, which he considered as the happiest for men with sufficient income and exempt from ambition. He knew and could appreciate this sort of life, for he often told me the period of his life which he remembered with the greatest pleasure was that which he had passed in a château of the family of Boulat du Colombier near Valence.

His desire to conciliate the Châteaux. Bourrienne.

Bonaparte set great value on the opinion of the Châteaux, because while living in the country he had observed the moral influence which their inhabitants exercise over their neighborhood. He had succeeded to a great degree in conciliating them, but the news of the death of the Duc d'Enghien alienated from him minds which were still wavering, and even those which had already declared in his favor. The act of tyranny dissolved the charm which had created hope from his government and awakened affections which had as yet only slumbered. Those to whom this event was almost indifferent also joined in condemning it; for there are certain aristocratic ideas which are always fashionable in a certain class of society. Thus for different causes this atrocity gave a retrograde direction to public opinion, which had previously been favorably disposed to Bonaparte throughout the whole of France.

Effect of the Duc d'Enghien's death. Ibid.

Napoleon often reflected on the best mode of making known his desire for a divorce with the Empress; still he was reluctant to speak to her concerning it. He was apprehensive of the consequences of her susceptibility of feeling; his heart was never proof against the shedding of tears. He thought, however, that a favorable opportunity offered for breaking the subject previously to his quitting Fontainebleau. He hinted at it in a few words which he had addressed to the Empress, but did not explain himself until the arrival of the viceroy, whom he had ordered to join him. He was the first person who spoke openly to his mother and obtained her consent for that bitter sacrifice. He acted on the occasion like a kind son and a man grateful to his benefactor and devoted to his service, by sparing him the necessity of unpleasant explanations towards a partner whose removal was a sacrifice as painful to him as it was affecting. The Emperor, having arranged whatever related to the future condition of the Empress, upon whom he made a liberal settlement, urged the moment of the dissolution of the marriage, no doubt because he felt grieved at the condition of the Empress herself, who dined every day and passed her evenings in the presence of persons who were witnessing her descent from the throne. There existed between him and the

His divorce from Josephine. Bourrienne.

Empress Josephine no other bond than a civil act, according to the custom which prevailed at the time of this marriage. Now the law had foreseen the dissolution of such marriage contracts. A particular day having therefore been fixed upon, the Emperor brought together into his apartments those persons whose ministry was required in this case; amongst others, the Arch-Chancellor and M. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely. The Emperor then declared in a loud voice his intention of annulling the marriage he had contracted with Josephine, who was present; the Empress also made the same declaration, which was interrupted by her sobs. The Prince Arch-Chancellor having caused the article of the law to be read, he applied it to the case before him, and declared the marriage to be dissolved.

The ceremony of divorce. Bourrienne.

When Napoleon accepted the title of emperor, he briefly replied in the following terms:

His speech as Emperor.

"Everything which can contribute to the weal of the country is essentially connected with my happiness. I accept the title which you believe to be useful to the glory of the nation. I submit to the people the sanction of the law of hereditary succession. I hope that France will never repent the honors with which she shall invest my family. At all events, my spirit will no longer be with my

posterity on that day when it shall cease to merit the love and confidence of the Grand Nation."

To the members of the imperial family and the officers of the Empire he said: "The political interests of my monarchy and the wishes of my people, which have constantly guided my actions, require that I should transmit to an heir, inheriting my love for the people, the throne on which Providence has placed me. For many years I have lost all hopes of having children by my beloved spouse, the Empress Josephine. It is this consideration which induces me to sacrifice the dearest affections of my heart to consult the good of my subjects only, and to desire the dissolution of our marriage. Arrived at the age of forty years, I may reasonably hope to live long enough to rear, in the spirit of my own thoughts and disposition, the children with which it may please Providence to bless me. God knows how much such a determination has cost my heart. But there is no sacrifice too great for my courage, when it is proved to be in the interests of France. Far from having any cause of complaint, I have nothing to say but in praise of the attachment and tenderness of my beloved wife. She has embellished fifteen years of my life, and the remembrance of them will be forever engraven on my heart. She was crowned by my hand. She shall always retain the rank

His reasons for the divorce. Bourrienne.

and title of Empress. Above all, let her never doubt my affection, and always regard me as her best and dearest friend."

At the close of the last meeting between Napoleon and Josephine, he took her hand and looking tenderly at her said: "Josephine, I have been as fortunate as any man upon earth. But in this hour, with a storm gathering over me, I have none but you in the wide world upon whom I can repose."

His tribute to Josephine. Labédoyère.

Preparatory to the marriage with the Austrian Archduchess, and the painful repudiation of Josephine, the Emperor and Empress declared their consent to the divorce in a family assembly. This took place in the grand apartments of the Tuileries; it was extremely interesting, and all the spectators were in tears. The consent being certified by the Arch-Chancellor, the dissolution of the marriage was pronounced by the Senate; when Josephine left the Tuileries and proceeded to Malmaison. All the articles of furniture of Napoleon's apartments, in that small, but delightful country seat, remained in their places; Josephine having, besides the estate of Navarre, a revenue of two millions per annum, most of which she employed in encouraging the arts and relieving the unfortunate. Malmaison, which is three leagues from Paris and one from St. Cloud, became the

She retires to Malmaison. Ibid.

constant residence of the repudiated Empress. In the course of five years, she received three or four visits from Napoleon, the whole court regularly repairing thither; and, upon the allies entering Paris, the Emperor Francis, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, paid her frequent visits.

THE MARRIAGE OF MARIA LOUISA.

Napoleon's marriage to Maria Louisa. Bourrienne.

Cherishing for General Lauriston, formerly his aide-de-camp, a friendship of very long standing, Napoleon commissioned him to proceed to Vienna, and to accompany the Empress to Paris as captain of her bodyguard. With the view of honoring the memory of Marshal Lannes, Duke of Montebello, he appointed his widow to be a lady of honor to the new Empress, finding it impossible to bestow upon her a more signal proof of his esteem, for she had not at that time any claim to entitle her to a situation which was to place her, all at once, at the head of the highest society.

He sent his sister, the Queen of Naples, as far as Braunau, with four ladies of honor to meet the Empress. We had then in Braunau the corps of Marshal Davoust, who was completing measures for evacuating Austria. This corps was placed under arms upon the arrival of the Empress, and gave her as brilliant a reception as the means of

so small a town could afford. The Queen of Naples received the Empress at Braunau, where the ceremony took place of delivering up Her Majesty by the officers whom her father had appointed to accompany her, as well as of the delivery of her effects; and, as soon as the Empress had clothed herself in the garments brought in the wardrobe from Paris, she passed over the frontier with the ladies of the palace who were in attendance, and gave audience of leave to all those who had accompanied her from Vienna and were about to return. All this was accomplished within an hour from the time of her arrival at Braunau. She departed immediately for Munich, Augsburg, Stuttgart, Carlsruhe and Strasburg, and was received with great splendor at all the foreign courts, and at Strasburg with great enthusiasm. So many hopes were interwoven with the marriage that her arrival was sincerely greeted by all.

Her journey to Paris. Bourrienne.

The Emperor had gone as far as Compiègne to receive her, the Court then being at that residence. He wrote to her every day by a page, who went off at full speed with his letters, and as quickly brought back her replies. I recollect that the Emperor having dropped the envelope of the first letter, it was instantly picked up, and handed about the salon as a specimen of the handwriting of the Empress; the eagerness to see it was as great as if

her portrait had been exhibited. The pages who came from her were tormented with questions. We had, in short, been transformed at once into courtiers as assiduous as our ancestors in the days of Louis XIV., and would scarcely have been taken for the men who had laid so many nations prostrate at their feet. The Emperor was no less impatient than ourselves, and much more interested in knowing what more particularly concerned him; he really appeared love stricken. He had ordered that the route of the Empress should be by way of Nancy, Châlons, Rheims, and Soissons, and could almost point out, at any hour of the day, the progress she had then made.

Napoleon's impatience to see her. Bourrienne.

On the day of her arrival the Emperor took his departure in a plain carriage, with no other attendant than the Grand Marshal, after giving his instructions to Marshal Bessières, who remained at Compiègne. He travelled on the road of Soissons and Rheims until he met the carriage of the Empress, which was suddenly stopped by his courier. The Emperor alighted, ran up to the door of the Empress's carriage, opened it himself, and stepped in. On perceiving the astonishment of the Empress, who knew not the meaning of this abruptness in a stranger, the Queen of Naples said to her, "Madame, it is the Emperor." He returned to Compiègne in their company.

The meeting at Compiègne. Ibid.

Marshal Bessières had ordered out all the cavalry quartered near the palace, and advanced with it, and with the general officers and the Emperor's aides-de-camp, on the road to Soissons as far as a well-known stone bridge, the name of which I do not recollect; at the same bridge Louis XV. had met the Dauphiness, daughter of Maria Theresa, afterwards the unhappy Queen of France.

The people of Compiègne had succeeded in making their way to the porch of the palace, where they ranged themselves in a double line. The Empress on her arrival was received at the foot of the principal staircase by the mother and family of the Emperor, the whole Court, the Ministers, and several personages of the highest rank. It is superfluous to name the person who attracted the attention of everyone from the moment the carriage door opened until the entrance into the apartments. No court was held that night, and all the company withdrew at an early hour.

Her reception by the people. Bourrienne.

According to the etiquette observed at foreign courts the Emperor was no doubt married to the Archduchess Maria Louisa; not so, however, with reference to our civil code; nevertheless, it is said that he followed the example of Henry IV. on his marriage with Marie de Medicis. I am only repeating here the illiberal remarks made the next morning; because I am pledged to speak the truth.

Had it, however, been my case, I should have followed the precedent of Henry IV. on this occasion. It happened to be my turn to sleep that night in the apartment of the officers in attendance. The Emperor had left the palace and retired to the Chancellor's residence; and if the report had been brought to me that all Paris was on fire I should not have attempted to disturb his repose, under the apprehension that he might not be found at that residence.

The next was a very fatiguing day for the young Empress, because presentations were made of persons wholly unknown to her, by individuals with whom she was not much more acquainted. The Emperor himself presented to her his aides-de-camp, who felt highly gratified at this condescending mark of his regard; the lady of honor presented the ladies of the palace and others who were to form her retinue.

The Empress presented to the Court. Bourrienne.

The Emperor proceeded with the Empress to St. Cloud on the day after the public presentation, the attendants of both households followed them in separate carriages. They did not pass through Paris, but took the road to St. Denis, the Bois de Boulogne, and St. Cloud; all the authorities of Paris had repaired to the boundary of the department of the Seine, in the direction of Compiègne, and were followed by a great part of the popula-

tion, who gave themselves up to the joy and enthusiasm which the occasion naturally created.

An immense crowd had collected at St. Cloud to greet her arrival; first, the Princesses of the Imperial family, amongst whom were the Vice-Queen of Italy, who was then making her first appearance in Paris, the Princess of Baden, the Dignitaries, the Marshals of France, the Senators, and the Councillors of State. It was broad daylight when the Imperial retinue reached St. Cloud.

The ceremony of the civil marriage did not take place till two days afterwards, in the gallery of the Palace at St. Cloud. A platform was raised at the extremity of the gallery, with a table and arm-chairs upon it for the Imperial couple, as well as chairs and stools for the Princes and Princesses of his family; none were present at the ceremony except the persons attached to the respective Courts. When all the preliminary arrangements had been gone through, the cortège moved forward from the apartments of the Empress, and crossing the grand apartments and the salon of Hercules, entered the gallery, where it was arranged on the platform in the order laid down by the rules of etiquette. The place of every one had been determined beforehand, so that in an instant the utmost order and silence pervaded the assembly.

The civil marriage. Bourrienne.

The civil marriage, continued.

The Arch-Chancellor stood near a table with a rich velvet covering over it, upon which was a register held by Count Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, the Secretary of the Imperial family's household. After taking the Emperor's orders the Prince Arch-Chancellor put the following questions to him in a loud voice: "Sire, is it your Majesty's intention to take for your lawful wife Her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria, here present?" "Yes, sir," was the Emperor's answer. The Arch-Chancellor then addressed the Empress: "Madame," he said, "does your Imperial Highness, of your own free consent, take the Emperor Napoleon, here present, for your lawful husband?" "Yes, sir," she replied. The Arch-Chancellor then proceeded to declare, in the name of the law and of the institutions of the Empire, that His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and Her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria were duly united in marriage. Count Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely presented the act for signature, first to the Emperor, afterwards to the Empress, and lastly to all the members of the family, as well as to the different personages whose official ranks entitled them to this honorable privilege.

Next morning the Imperial couple left St. Cloud in a carriage drawn by eight cream-colored horses,

preceded by an empty carriage drawn by eight gray horses, which was intended for the Empress; thirty other carriages, all one mass of gilding, and drawn by superb horses, completed the cortège; these were filled with the ladies and officers of the household, and by those whose employments gave them the privilege of being admitted to the Imperial presence. The train left St. Cloud between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, and was escorted by the whole of the cavalry; it passed through the Bois de Boulogne, the Porte Maillot, the Champs Elysées, the Place de Révolution, to the garden of the Tuileries, where all the carriages stopped, to enable the company to enter the palace.

Bridal procession to Paris. Bourrienne.

From the iron railing of the court of the palace of St. Cloud, both sides of the road were lined with so dense a mass of people that the population of the adjacent country must have flocked to St. Cloud and Paris on the occasion. The crowd increased on approaching Paris; from the barrier to the palace of the Tuileries it baffled all calculation. Orchestras were placed at stated distances along the Champs Elysées, and played a variety of airs. France appeared to revel in a delight bordering upon frenzy. Many were the protestations of fidelity and attachment made to the Emperor; and whosoever had ventured to predict at that

time what has since come to pass would have been scouted as a madman.

When all the carriages had arrived, the cortège resumed its order of etiquette in the gallery of Diana at the Tuileries, and proceeded through a passage expressly constructed for the occasion, and terminating at the gallery of the Museum, which it entered by the door near the Pavilion of Flora.

Here began a new spectacle; both sides of that immense gallery were lined from one end to the other with a triple row of Parisian ladies of the middle class; nothing could be compared to the variegated scene presented by that assemblage of ladies, whose youthful bloom shone forth more dazzling than their elegant attire.

The marriage celebration at Paris. Bourrienne.

A balustrade extended along both sides of the gallery, in order to prevent anyone from passing beyond a certain line, and the middle of this fine edifice was thus free and unobstructed, so as to admit of a passage for the cortège, which moved along and afforded a feast to the eyes as far as the very altar. The vast salon at the end of the gallery, where the exhibition of paintings generally took place, had been converted into a chapel. Its circuit was lined by a triple row of splendidly ornamented boxes, filled with the most elegant and distinguished ladies then in Paris. The Grand

Master of the Ceremonies assigned to the persons composing the cortège their proper places as they arrived in the chapel. The strictest order was observed during the whole of this ceremony. Mass was performed by his eminence Cardinal Fesch, after which the marriage ceremony took place.

The marriage a political measure. Bourrienne.

This marriage with Maria Louisa was political, almost to a degree of cruelty as regarded the first Empress. Many, no doubt, had their suspicion as to whether the connection would be a happy one. To prove that it was such, the following letter written by the young Archduchess has been referred to. Old Count Edling had been Maria Louisa's preceptor at Vienna; and, in June, 1810, one of the chamberlains that accompanied her to Paris, returned to Vienna, who, with other despatches for the Imperial family, was charged by the Empress with an autograph letter in German to the old Count, of which the following is a translation:

"My dear Count Edling:

"I have received from you so many testimonies of care and affection, that I feel an ardent desire to inform you, by Count Joseph Metternich, of the particulars of my present situation. When I left you and my friends in Vienna, I saw the good people plunged in the deepest sorrow, from the

persuasion that I was going as a sacrifice to my new destination. I now feel it an agreeable duty to assure you, that, during three months' residence at this court, I have been, and am, the happiest woman in the world. From the first moment I met and saw the Emperor Napoleon, my beloved husband, he has shown me, on every occasion, such respectful attention, with every token of kindness and sincere friendship, that I should be unjust and ungrateful, not to acknowledge his noble behavior.

Letter of Maria Louisa to Count Edling. Labédoyère.

"Believe not, my dear Count, that this is written by any order of my husband; these sentiments are dictated from my heart; nor has anyone so much as read the letter. The Emperor is at this moment by me, but will not look at the contents. He has desired me to send you, in his name, the insignia of the Legion of Honor. Respecting your wish to visit me at Paris, my husband and I will be very glad to receive you in the month of September, at the Tuileries; we shall have returned from a little tour; and you will then be a witness of my satisfaction, which I cannot describe to you in this letter.

"Adieu, my dear and good Count Edling; remember me to all my beloved family and friends; tell them that I am happy, and that I thank God for this felicity. God bless and preserve

you; and, believe me, that I remain, forever, your affectionate Maria.

"Paris, June 16, 1810."

Napoleon had a firm conviction that his consort, the Archduchess, had never endeavored to do for him what, as his wife and queen, he thought it her duty to do, mediate between her father and him. This conviction was one of the things that embittered his later life. It was only by some few short sentences wrested from him by the force of circumstances that fixed this belief in the minds of those who approached the matter. He never voluntarily expressed himself regarding this matter to his most intimate friends. He wished that the Archduchess should anticipate his wishes.

Napoleon believed Maria Louisa did not mediate with Austria.

"It has been said," said Napoleon, "that the marriage of Maria Louisa was one of the secret articles of the treaty of Vienna, which had been concluded some months before; that is entirely false. An alliance with Austria had never been dreamed of before the despatch of Narbonne, which mentioned the overtures that the Emperor Francis and Metternich had made to him. Indeed this marriage with the Empress Maria Louisa was proposed in the Council, discussed, decided and signed within twenty-four hours; which fact can be attested by a great number of the Council still alive. Many were of opinion that I should have

The marriage not part of the treaty of Vienna.

married a Frenchwoman; and the arguments in favor of this proposition were so strong that I hesitated a moment. However, the court of Austria insinuated that if I refused to choose a princess from one of the reigning houses of Europe, it would be a tacit declaration that I intended to overthrow them when an opportunity presented itself."

Napoleon's coronation by the Pope. Labédoyère.

Much has been said and many animadversions made, upon Bonaparte's placing the crown upon his own head, and not waiting to receive it from the hands of the Pope, and he is represented as having snatched it impatiently from the holy father. That he placed the crown on his own head is very true, but that he snatched it from the Pope's hands is an error. The crowns, both for himself and the Empress, were laid upon the altar; and the Pope, having anointed the foreheads and temples of the Emperor and Empress with oil, which he had previously consecrated for the purpose, proceeded to bless and consecrate the crowns, taking them in his hands as he pronounced the benediction. He then replaced them on the altar, and retiring to his own seat, Napoleon advanced. Taking in his hand the crown destined for himself, and a wreath of laurel, he pronounced the oath to the nation, which had been decreed by the Senate, and repeated a formula,

signifying his acknowledgment that he held the crown by the favor of God and the French people, after which he placed it upon his head. The Empress then advancing, he took in like manner into his hands the crown destined for her, in form the same as the queens of France used to wear, and pronouncing a formula, purporting that she held the crown only as his true and lawful wife, not from any right inherent in herself, he placed the crown upon her head.

Napoleon was the founder of his own dynasty. It was the founders of dynasties alone, therefore, in whose steps he could follow.

Napoleon the founder of his own dynasty. Masson.

Of these there were two: one was simply a great lord, elected by lords his equals; his power was limited by the oligarchy of whom he was the representative, and whose privileges he engaged to protect. No semblance existed between the position of Napoleon and that of Hugues Capet, and it was not from the Duke of France developed into the King of France that an emperor could draw his inspiration.

The other had the recommendation of the services of his father, but possessed no hereditary right. He was not the chosen of a few, but the elect of the whole nation, or of that part of the nation which carry arms, which alone counted; in that way he became Cæsar. Nevertheless, he did not

look on his reign as assured, his dynasty as founded, until the Pope, the interpreter of God and the arbiter of spiritual authority, had poured on his head the holy oil, and placed on his brow the crown. This consecration he might have demanded from the bishops of his Empire, but he wished to receive it from the head of the Church, from him who binds and who looses, and from whom, in the eyes of all Christians, every truth emanates.

Here was the example. The similarity of the situations is striking, and forces itself on the mind. Napoleon inherits no recommendation from his father, but possesses the recommendation of his victories. He was the elect of all, of the people and of the army, and he is Cæsar; but, like Charlemagne, he does not hold that national election takes the place of supernatural origin. By the two Concordats he had reëstablished the Catholic religion in France and Italy; in doing this he considered that he was yielding to the wishes of the two nations, whom he was justified in supposing Catholic. Like Charlemagne, therefore, it was from the Pope, and from the Pope alone, that he could claim investiture. He will thus clothe his authority with the divine origin which is wanting to it, and, reascending the course of ages, will unite the fourth dynasty to the second.

Napoleon's comparison with Charlemagne. Masson.

It is on this account that Napoleon is continually referring to Charlemagne, that he proposed to dedicate to him a gigantic monument on the Place Vendôme, that he erected a statue to him at Aix-la-Chapelle, that on every occasion he insists on his admiration for the great man for whose relics at Aix-la-Chapelle he was anxious to show his veneration so soon as he became Emperor. Perhaps some tradition of the Carlovingians, his ancestors, still excited the great admiration he bore for his august predecessor; perhaps some tradition of the Byzantine emperors, handed down in legend; but a glance at history served to establish such strange coincidences between his own destiny and that of Charlemagne, that he was led, indeed compelled, to seek no other model.

His admiration for Charlemagne. Masson.

He too fills the place of lawful kings, and claims to substitute his dynasty for theirs; he too, with his eyes fixed on that Italy which he has twice conquered, looks on his Empire as incomplete unless he reigns over the people of the Peninsula at the same time as over the French; he too has seen all the Germans of the East rise in arms against the principle which he represents, and his lieutenants went to the places where Charlemagne fought in order to quell their revolt.

When Napoleon says, "I am Charlemagne, because, like Charlemagne, I once more unite my

Crown of France with that of the Lombards, and because my Empire reaches to the East," the cry comes from his heart. It is from the imperial costume of Charlemagne also that he copies his coronation robes; it is the coat-of-arms attributed to Charlemagne, a golden eagle on a blue field, that he takes for his bearings; it is the imperial insignia of Charlemagne, the crown, the sceptre, the sword of Charlemagne which Kellermann, Pérignon, and Lefebvre bear before him on the day of his coronation.

Napoleon derives titles from the Holy Roman Empire. Masson.

If not from Charlemagne himself, it is from the Holy Roman Empire founded by him that he borrows the greater part of the titles with which he invests the great dignitaries of his Empire. Cambacérès is arch-chancellor of the Empire, because there was in the College of Electors an arch-chancellor of the Empire, who was archbishop of Mayence. Lebrun is arch-treasurer, as was the Count Palatine of the Rhine. Louis is constable, not because a constable up to the time of Louis XIII. commanded the armies of the King of France, but because a constable was one of the Palatines of Charlemagne. If the name of grand admiral is without precedent in the Germanic Empire (for even in France it dates only from Louis XIV. and brings to our recollection only the Comte de Toulouse and the Duc de Ponthièvre), it is in accord-

ance with German traditions that the dignity of grand elector was taken; and it is again from the Holy Empire that we get those deputies who were appointed to supply the places of the great dignitaries; there are a vice-grand-electeur and a vice-constable in the Napoleonic Empire because in the Holy Empire there were a vice-grand-master of the Palace, a vice-grand-marshal, a vice-grand-chamberlain, and a vice-grand-treasurer.

The same, continued.

As far, then, as possible, in the great dignitaries of the Empire, Napoleon copied, if not Charlemagne directly, at least the successors of Charlemagne. He follows the same course when, with a view of surrounding the fourth dynasty with a devoted body similar to that which the Bourbon kings possessed in their nobility, he institutes the Legion of Honor, and the nobility of the Empire. With the latter the similarity is remarkable. Like Charlemagne, Napoleon has his dukes and his counts; he contemplates the creation of margraves. When he admits barons and *chevaliers* it is because the two titles are in use in the Holy Empire; if he creates princedoms (Essling, Eckmuhl, Wagram), it is not until 1809, at Vienna, following the example of the Emperors of Germany. And lastly, when to the son for whom he hoped, he assigned, even before he married Maria Louisa (*Sénatus-Consulte* of February 17th, 1810),

the title and honors of King of Rome, what more convincing proof can there be that the thought of Charlemagne and of the Holy Empire haunted him incessantly? Was it not in Germany that he found the title of King of the Romans given to the son of the Emperor, to the Emperor who was not crowned? And in the statement of the grounds of this *Sénatus-Consulte* of 1810 does he not make his orators say, "Napoleon, in the first days of his glory, abstains from entering Rome as a conqueror. He waits till he can appear there as a father. It is his wish in that city to have the crown of Charlemagne placed on his head for a second time"?

The crown of Charlemagne. Masson.

The twelve Marshals of the Empire (twelve as soon as Murat and Berthier were promoted to be grand dignitaries) have by their very number some air of resemblance to the twelve peers of Charlemagne; but the five colonels-general of cavalry, the inspectors-general of artillery and of engineers, and the four inspectors of the coasts, had no counterparts before the Valois and the Bourbons.

These officers were purely ornamental, and these "grand officers" of the Empire would not, any more than the "grand dignitaries," have daily duties to perform in the service of the Emperor. Their posts formed the excuse for large salaries, splendid uniforms, and nothing more. On days

of ceremony the "grand dignitaries" and the "grand officers" of the Empire would take their places in certain rooms apart; they would form the cortège of the sovereign or would surround his throne; but they knew not how to direct the Court, nor how to superintend the various services of the Emperor's house so as to give to both of them the dignity and the splendor which Napoleon desired.

Napoleon establishes the Court officials. Masson.

It became necessary, therefore, on this account to have special officers who should be "grand officers of the Crown."

These, then, Napoleon was of necessity bound to reëstablish; not a "grand master," for the title is too ambitious, but a "grand marshal," as in Germany; a grand chamberlain, and a master of the horse, for no Court was without them. He appointed a grand almoner because such an office was customary in France, a master of the hounds for the same reason, and, with equal rank, a grand master of the ceremonies, whose office is still more necessary than in former times, for all the newcomers have to be taught an etiquette which many have forgotten, and which most have never known.

Napoleon thus places himself on an equality of state with the other sovereigns of Europe; he constitutes his Court essentially of the same elements

which form theirs. The customs of Courts are everywhere the same, so that, willing or unwilling, he is compelled to accept the traditional way of naming these offices which existed at the Court of the Bourbons, which alone adapted itself to the times in which he lived—for in truth the days of Charlemagne were somewhat remote. Having reëstablished these titles, what duties shall he assign to their bearers? How shall he contrive to conciliate modern feeling, the spirit of equality, the spirit of the Revolution, of which, in spite of all, he is the representative, with a ceremonial the hatefulness and absurdity of which he recognized? His aim was not so much to surpass in splendor the kings who preceded him and the sovereigns who were his contemporaries; it was especially to restore to the embodiment of authority all the splendor with which it was surrounded before the Revolution; it was to attach to his new government a considerable number of ambitious men who, of their own accord, would come and occupy the positions he had designed for them, and who, to recover the titles which they had borne, or to receive similar titles, would abandon their ancient masters; it was to promote expenditure by the festivities which he would command, and thus foster national industries; it was to re-establish a centre from which should radiate an

His analysis of etiquette. Masson.

example of politeness, of manners, and of fashion; it was, lastly, by the numerous barriers and the distance placed between the Emperor and the people, to increase the veneration of the multitude. But there is a wide distinction between such a course and any attempt to reëstablish the power of the great officers of the Crown and their subordinates, on the same footing as under the Bourbons, or to resume the etiquette practised fourteen years previously, and to insist on its strict observance. If he desired to do so it was impossible.

Etiquette of the Bourbons. Masson.

France had had neither the privilege nor the special burden of etiquette. In it, etiquette was the law of the Court as it is the law of the Court of every monarch by Divine right. To make a joke of it, to ridicule it, to abolish it, give the popularity of a day, but overthrow a monarchy of twenty centuries. To act like Louis XVI., shows the most complete misapprehension that a king can have, both of the character with which he is invested and of the conditions which allow him to exercise his power.

The law of etiquette was not the invention of Louis XIV.; he only adapted it to his kingdom by the introduction, according to precedents, of certain prescribed forms; but if the principle was differently carried out according to the usages of

nations, it was virtually identical in Spain, in England, in all the German monarchies, in Turkey, in Persia, in the Indies, in China, in Japan, in every place where a monarch reigns who claims to hold his power from God.

The sovereign by Divine right could only be approached by those of the nation who had been raised to the highest dignity. These are his witnesses and his servants; they assist at and take part in all the acts of his existence. They are the intermediaries between him and the nation, and render him services, which, servile in themselves, take the character of the highest honors when his person is in question. They are under obligation to render them, but it is also a right, and the sovereign cannot recede from it without falling short of his character. The two terms are inseparable.

His formula of etiquette. Masson.

This formula Napoleon hit upon, and we may almost say that he did so without groping about, and at the first attempt. He recognizes two beings in his own person: one, which in physical, intellectual, and moral process has wants which must be respected, for which complete liberty is necessary; the other is under the control of his sense of dignity, and directed by the grand master of the ceremonies, a creature of spectacle and pomp, whose steps are governed by etiquette, and who, as soon as he makes an official appearance,

is subject to all the ceremonies customary among absolute monarchs. The man retains his right to think, to work, to live as he would, to act as he pleases; the sovereign preserves the surrounding necessary for his dignity, but from this surrounding he only accepts symbolic services which are the representatives only of those real duties for which originally every office was instituted. It is this which Napoleon was fond of stating, saying that "he was the first who had separated the service of honor" (an expression coined in his time) "from the service of necessity; that he had put aside all that which was real and menial, to substitute for it that which was only nominal and purely decorative."

Separate lives as man and as emperor. Masson.

To reconcile that which forms the reality of his power with that which up to that time had been the representation of it, the Emperor is therefore compelled to have two existences: one, of parade, has for its stage the *appartement d'honneur*, and the state apartments of the palaces, the chapel, the theatres, the Corps Législatif, the Sénat, Notre Dame, and the Hôtel de Ville, all the different scenes where he had to play in public the part of Emperor; the other, his real life, his personal life, his life as a man, his life as a worker, his life of husband and of lover, flows on between the walls of the *appartement intérieur*. There he is himself;

he appears wth his familiar habits, his methods of work, his passion for order and arrangement. It is there that he must be seen if we attempt to represent the man that he was capable of being, and if we wish to form a notion of his normal existence—that which enabled him to be equal to his work and to fulfil his destinies—if we wish to form a notion which approaches at all closely to historical truth.

His private apartments. Masson.

To form a notion of the habits of life and the familiar manners of Napoleon in his private apartments, the best plan, no doubt, is to take the apartments of the Tuileries as a type, and we are called on to reconstruct these apartments entirely by means of documents of indifferent authority, or insufficient for the purpose, in the almost complete absence of actual representation. No more than the shadow of the Palace remains in which one can seek for the shadow of the Emperor. Napoleon, indeed, spent days at Compiègne, at Rambouillet, and at Fontainebleau, but scarcely more numerous than at Schönbrunn or at Potsdam; from these places no more particulars can be gathered than from the headquarters at Marrac and at Mayence, or from the imperial palaces of Strasburg and of Bordeaux. It was, in fact, at the Tuileries and at Saint-Cloud that he lived longest, and each of these places is now a blank.

It may be said that, on an average, from Floréal of the year XII. to April, 1814, the Emperor's official residence was at the Tuileries for nearly three months a year. This does not mean that he never left it, nor that he slept there every night; without being a wanderer like Louis XIV., or still more, Louis XV., who was always transferring his dulness from Versailles to Marly, to Choisy, to Saint-Hubert, to Bellevue, to Compiègne, to Fontainebleau, Napoleon was far from being settled. When evening came he would decide suddenly to start for Malmaison or Saint-Cloud, would go occasionally and establish himself at the Elysée, would start off and pass a day or even a night at one of the châteaux which he had given to his companions of war,—Grosbois and Grignon, for example; and this was not noticed in the official reports of his movements, it was not even in early times entered in the *Journal des Voyages*. It used to be said, especially at the beginning of his reign, that he wished to keep his household perpetually on the alert, to accustom it to change quarters at once, and that it pleased him to add to the difficulties of the Grand Marshal and the serving people. In fact, it satisfied his craving for continual activity and movement. But go where he would, he liked to find the rooms arranged in the same order as at the Tuileries; he wished his private

His official residences. Masson.

apartment to be similar, with furniture made on similar patterns, and arranged in the identical positions. As soon as his necessaries were unpacked, his portfolios open, he at once became at home; he had everything he required at hand, for no man had fewer different wants, fewer fancies, or was more regular. That which formed the familiar surroundings of his life was contained in a few chests—one might even say, in a few small boxes—and, however great might be his magnificence, however much he desired to clothe his surroundings with grandeur, there remained in the Emperor much of the sous-lieutenant of former years, ready to start when the trumpet sounds to horse, and only wanting a few minutes to cord his baggage. Thus his palaces have always the air of an inn. All his personal belongings follow his person, and when he has left there is no trace of his passage, nothing to indicate his tastes, nothing to show his character or his habits. Beyond his cipher on the furniture and hangings, his coat of arms, the bees which have taken flight from his imperial mantle and settled here and there on the walls or on the floor, nothing recalls him. From motives of economy, and also because there was nothing better, nor as good, to be done, these seditious badges were at a later time covered with a shred of cloth, and kings followed

His readiness for travel. Masson.

each other in the use of this imperial furniture without much embarrassment, for nothing of the spirit of the first occupant is to be discovered in this furniture.

He took possession of these apartments in the same way, and with as little fuss, as though he were going into one of his headquarters, Osterode or Finckenstein, the Escorial or the Kremlin. In every place he was at home—in the house of Louis XIV. or in that of Philip II., in the house of Ivan or in that of Frederic. His maps spread out, his great table placed on trestles, he set to work, without the necessity of any familiar surroundings to bring back the current of his thoughts. That mattered little to him. He had a mania for order, but it was satisfied at a very slight cost; it aimed at what was necessary, not at what was superfluous. He thought nothing either of the richness of the furniture or of the sumptuousness of the decorations, but much of the arrangement of his actual tools, indispensable either for his physical existence or for the production of his brain. It is for this reason that in his apartment the arrangement, which he had himself drawn up and which was contrived so as to be identical in whatever place he went to, for which a few screens sufficed, gives much more insight toward a knowledge of the man than the decoration of the rooms; and

Methodical with his effects. Masson.

that the positions occupied by the pieces of furniture in regular use reveal more than the description of the furniture itself. The latter does honor to the maker, the other shows a manner of life.

At the Tuileries—and it was the same in the other imperial residences—the portion of the palace assigned to the habitation of the sovereign was distributed into three descriptions of apartments:

His three sets of apartments at the Tuileries. Masson.

The apartment of ceremony;
The ordinary apartment of the Emperor;
The ordinary apartment of the Empress;
The first two only concern us here.

The grand apartment of ceremony was reserved for fêtes, ceremonies, assemblies, and grand audiences. In the every-day life it was not made use of. The first room was a concert hall—the Salle des Maréchaux—which, taking up with the grand staircase and the grand vestibule the whole of the central *pavillon*, formed the communication between the two wings of the palace; that on the left, containing, in two stories, the apartments of the Emperor and of the Empress; and that on the right, in which were situated the hall of the Council of State, the theatre, and, further on, in the *pavillon* of the *Enfants de France*, in the façade looking on the Rue de Rivoli, the apartments of the Grand Marshal and of foreign princes.

In leaving the Salle des Maréchaux, the first room of the state apartments, one came to a first and second salon, the throne-room, and then the salon or state cabinet of the Emperor, and finally to the Gallery of Diana. The state apartments ceased there.

His special apartments Masson.

Similarly situated to the Gallery of Diana, and having its private entrance by a staircase near the *Pavillon de Flore*, stretched the *appartement ordinaire*, itself divided into the *appartement d'honneur* and the private apartment. The *appartement d'honneur* consisted of a guard-room and of a first and second salon. The private apartments, which were in continuation, comprised the Emperor's study, an interior study, where in the morning Napoleon gave audiences, a room which was used as a topographic office, a small bath-room, a bed-room, a dressing-room, a wardrobe, and an ante-chamber.

This suite of rooms was repeated by a similar suite in the story above, composed of an ante-chamber, of a dining-room, of a work-cabinet, of two salons, of a bed-room, of a boudoir, and of a wardrobe. This suite is often called the *appartement secret;* it was called officially by the name of the "Petit Appartement de sa Majesté," and could only be reached from the inner suite of rooms.

To get a clear idea of an arrangement of this kind, which is remarkably difficult to describe, the strangeness of which a plan, however exact, would scarcely explain, the best course, now that the Tuileries are destroyed, is to pay a visit to the small apartments at Versailles. There, in those dark corridors, where two persons can only pass sideways; in those narrow staircases, which turn so sharply, and which must be lighted day and night; in those rooms so small and so low that the head touches the ceiling—these rooms in which Louis XV., Louis XVI., queens, dauphins, princesses, favorites of all descriptions, passed their lives, it is possible to understand what the Tuileries might and must have been.

The discomforts of the Tuileries. Masson.

At one of its extremities, as we have seen, the *appartement intérieur* was separated from the staircase of the *Pavillon de Flore* by the guard-room, which was occupied by the pages on duty and by a *sous-officier* of the *garde-à-cheval;* from this opened the first salon, into which entered, of right, the colonel-general on duty, the state officers of the crown; in it remained on duty the aide-de-camp of the day, the chamberlain of the day, the préfet, and the equerry on duty; and here were received persons admitted to an audience, or summoned to work with the Emperor. It was the *salon de service.* The second salon, communicating

on one side with the cabinet of the Emperor, on the other with the *salon de service*, was devoted to audiences. In the doorway of each of the salons stood an usher; at the door of the guard-room was a doorkeeper, armed, as a matter of ceremony, with a halbert and sword.

At the other extremity of the *appartement intérieur*, to the ante-chamber of which access was gained by passages and staircases leading from the extremity of the Gallery of Diana, an usher, of extreme trustworthiness, kept the door. Within, a keeper of the portfolio, who was a sort of clerk, and a *valet-de-chambre*, remained at the disposal of the Emperor. There was no other guard. In the apartment there was not a single soldier. The only guard which was posted in the interior of the palace, called the guard of the guard-room of the state apartments, was in the right wing, beneath the staircase of the *Salle du Conseil d'Etat*. It was there especially to give the salute, and was composed of only twenty men. The only sentinel posted inside was under the central *pavillon*, in which there was a public passage to the court and garden. There was, besides, a guard of forty-one men at the *Pavillon de Flore;* a guard of twenty men at the swing-bridge; a guard of twenty-one horse soldiers, furnishing two vedettes, at the gate of the *carrousel;* a guard of seven gendarmes,

Guards to the Emperor's rooms. Masson.

and a guard of nine pompiers; but none of these hundred and eighteen soldiers entered the apartments.

It is true that in addition to the five doorkeepers, the ushers, and the *valets-de-chambre*, *adjudants supérieurs*, *adjudants* of the Grand Marshal, and *adjudants* of the palace kept up a continual watch; but little by little their number was reduced within surprising limits. Under the Consulate there were at first twelve officers, from the rank of chief of brigade down to that of captain, who had the title of *adjudants supérieurs*. There were still twelve *adjudants supérieurs* to be found in the year XII.—three generals, six colonels, two *chefs de bataillon*, and one captain; but when the Empire came these twelve were dispersed among the different palaces as governors or under-governors, and those who remained in the service did not exceed four in number. In 1807 they received the title of *Adjoints du Palais*, and disappeared in 1808, to be replaced by two marshals of the lodgings and four quartermasters of the palace. To the *adjoints* and to the quartermasters are to be added the governor of the palace, whose duties were almost honorary, and the *sous-gouverneur*, when the place was filled up, and the *adjudant*, and we have the entire body to whom the Emperor confided the safety of his person.

Officers of the palace. Masson.

All these were men of extreme trustworthiness: of the two *adjoints* of the Grand Marshal, who possessed the rank of colonel, one, Reynaud, was an exceptional soldier, of unequalled bravery, covered with wounds, who had made all Bonaparte's campaigns, and who, having risen to the rank of general, having been sent to Spain, had the bad luck in 1811 to be taken by the insurgents; the other, Clément, beginning life in 1782 as private in the regiment of Neustrie, had been promoted by the First Consul to the staff of Desaix at the same time as Savary and Rapp. His duties at the palace did not prevent him from having his thigh broken by a bullet in the campaign of 1805. He was a Republican, a self-made man, agreeable, polished, and well brought up, and, like Reynaud, absolutely devoted to the Emperor.

Reynaud Clément.

Philippe de Ségur—who, both as a general and as a writer, deserves a special notice in the history of these times—was appointed in 1802. He had the rank of Captain. The First Consul had him summoned to Saint-Cloud. "Citizen Ségur," said he to him, "I have placed you on my special staff. Your duty will be to command the guard which keeps watch over me. You see the confidence which I place in you. You will warrant it. Your merits and your talents promise you rapid promotion." Ségur, who was already devoted to

Philippe de Ségur.

Bonaparte, and had joined the hussars as a volunteer in the campaign of 1800 (whose father, among the first to come over, was *Conseiller d'Etat*, under the new form of government, till he received the appointment of Grand Master of the Ceremonies), was both astonished and overcome by this confidence, and to his last hours he deserved it.

Josephine's cousin, Tascher.

The fourth *adjoint* of the Grand Marshal was named Tascher, a cousin of Josephine, and although the Emperor had no great opinion of him, in five years (1803-1808) he made him pass through all the ranks to that of *chef de bataillon*. In sending him to Joseph, who took him for aide-de-camp, he wrote that "he may get practice and training, and become good for something." We know not if he profited by the lesson, but he got on. Colonel in 1808, Count of the Empire in 1810, General of Brigade in 1814, he succeeded in everything; for if his Empress-cousin failed him in France, he had in Spain married a Clary, and that could not fail to give him social standing. Having, therefore, been slighted, he attached himself warmly to the Bourbons, but enjoyed their favor for a short time only, having died of illness at the beginning of 1816.

The Governor of the Tuileries was changed too often to gain complete authority. Caffarelli was the first, but he became Minister of War and of

the Fleet in Italy; Fleurieu was the next, but he received it as a sort of retirement after his unfortunate tenure of office at the *Intendance générale.* The last was d'Harville, who, on the occasion of the divorce, had just relinquished the post of *chevalier d'honneur* to Josephine, and in the sinecure of the Tuileries, protected from his importunate creditors, gave himself as little trouble as possible.

Governors of the Tuileries.

The brave *sous-gouverneur*, General Macon, performed his duties for too short a time. Although appointed on the 29 Brumaire, year XIII., he went through the campaign of 1806, was summoned by the Emperor to undertake the government of Leipzig, and died there, of putrid fever, October 28th, 1806.

Macon.

He was not replaced as *sous-gouverneur* at the Tuileries, where the whole of the responsibility devolved on the adjutant, Augustin Auger, a remarkable person, who, during forty-seven years of military service, may perhaps have seen fire during riots in Paris, but never went on a campaign. A *chasseur* in Hainault in 1768, then *garde-à-cheval* in Paris, he entered in 1789 the paid *garde-parisienne*, was Lieutenant of the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry in 1792, Captain of a squadron of cavalry of the Department of the Oise in 1793, Captain of the Guides of the Army of the Interior in the year

Auger.

IV. and the year V., then Captain in the *garde-à-cheval* of the Directory. He passed into the *garde des consuls*, where he was promoted to be *chef d'escadron*, and appointed *adjudant supérieur* the 15 Germinal, year IX. From that time he was attached to the palace of the Tuileries, which he did not leave till August 27th, 1815, and then only to die two months later.

Auger therefore was the ruling spirit, and it was he who was really the commandant of the Tuileries from 1804 to 1814; from July 18th, 1808, he was assisted by the four *fourriers* of the palace, Deschamps, Baillon, Picot, and Emery, who all came from the *gendarmerie d'élite*, where they were lieutenants or quartermasters; they had all four earned decorations for their good services, and had proved by their devotion that they were worthy of their distinctions.

Auger's assistants.

During the day, *adjudants*, *adjoints*, or *fourriers* made frequent rounds in the uninhabited parts of the palace. They did not go, however, into the *appartement ordinaire*, which the officers on duty sufficed to guard. It might be supposed that the latter were not called on for active service, but this would not be true. In the year XI. a man in private dress entered the first ante-chamber. Questioned by the officer on duty, a Captain of *Voltigeurs*, as to why he kept his hat on, he

Entrance of a maniac. Masson.

suddenly drew from under his great coat a sabre, with which he attempted to kill the officer. The latter put himself in an attitude of defence and pinned the madman against the wall. Those in the neighboring rooms rushed in hastily, and recognized the man as an old quartermaster of the guides, to whom some injustice had been done, and who, mad with exasperation, had come with the intention of killing the First Consul. He was taken care of and cured, the matter was hushed up, and Bonaparte settled a pension on his would-be assassin.

The night guards. Masson.

At night the guardians were scarcely more numerous. But it must be remarked that at this time the palace was only separated from the public garden by a simple terrace of no great breadth, and raised only three or four steps. If then a sentinel failed in his lookout, an evil-disposed person could easily climb the walls and get into the apartments. For this reason precautionary rounds were increased. One night Ségur found on a window-sill a man who was only waiting for a suitable moment to slip inside. This was the only serious alarm, and except for Ségur it would be still unknown. Another time, after a state reception, a man was found hidden behind the curtains of the state cabinet. It was a poor madman, an old chimney-sweep at the Tuileries, who imagined

that he should discover the soul of his father in the fires or the lights. He was taken to Charenton. These are all the incidents recorded; in spite of the facilities which they would have met with, none of the conspiracies formed against Napoleon aimed at attacking him at the Tuileries, so great was the conviction that he was well guarded. We have seen that this was not the use he made of his army.

Precautions at night. Masson.

At night no more than during the day did the rounds enter the *appartement ordinaire* of the Emperor. The aide-de-camp on duty slept there, in the *salon de service*, his head leaning against the door. Some time later an orderly officer and a page were added. In the rooms immediately outside the salon there slept a brigadier and a footman. In the *appartement intérieur*, near the door, slept a Mameluke; another *valet-de-chambre* and a *garçon de garde-robe* had their chair-beds in little dark closets. To gain access to the Emperor when some urgent despatch arrived, the aide-de-camp knocked at the door against which the Mameluke lay. The Mameluke opened it, passed in the aide-de-camp, and shut it again carefully, "so that the aide-de-camp might be satisfied that no one could have followed him." The aide-de-camp then scratched at the door of the bed-chamber. This door was shut inside; the Emperor got up and

opened the door only when he had recognized the voice. These precautions, as he had specially explained to his brother Joseph, were minutely observed. "They give no trouble," said he, "and succeed in inspiring confidence, apart from the fact that they may in reality save your life."

During nearly the whole reign the precautions thus established seemed to suffice. In May, 1806, a considerable number of the body-guard of the old King, who had not emigrated, and having received employment had given proofs of zeal, requested to be attached to the person of the Emperor, and to be reconstituted as before. Napoleon refused their services. "It did not seem to him suitable;" but as they were people of honor he sent them to Naples to his brother Joseph, recommending them warmly.

Napoleon refuses the King's body-guard. Masson.

Let us take the letters of a single day; and let it be admitted that for that day, February 7th, 1810, for example, we have in the Correspondence all the letters he wrote. Here is a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which, day by day, hour by hour, he arranges the journeys of Maria Louisa; all the details are anticipated, all the halting places ordered; here is a note for the Ministers of the Treasury and of War, with a draft of the decree as to the arrangement of expenses, which is that of an expert accountant; a letter to the

His letter-writing. Ibid.

Minister of War on the expenses of Molitor's division in the Hanse town; a letter to the same pointing out, brigade by brigade, and regiment by regiment, what he calls the second movement of the army of Germany; a third letter on the occupation of part of Holland; a letter to the Grand Master of the University, which is a learned disquisition on the organization of that body, and on its privileges. And no doubt we have here but the tenth part of the letters sent out.

The dictation of his letters. Masson.

The work of dictating letters is, however, possibly the least. Each of the Ministers hands in or sends his portfolio full of papers, and each paper which the Emperor reads, or has read to him, bears its answer on the margin. It is usually short, but so conclusive and so clear that no uncertainty can arise. He passes from one sort of work to another with the same ease as from sleep to wakefulness, and without pause, without hesitation, he goes from War to Public Works, from Foreign Affairs to the Navy, going into infinite detail, always striking the right note whether it concerns an individual or a principle, or whether from a particular case he makes a generalization of principle.

He said one morning at his *lever*, while he was trimming his nails: "I was born and created for work, . . . not to handle the pickaxe. I am

conscious of no limit to the work I can get through." That is true: he was not conscious of it from 1795 to 1814. In 1815 there was a slackening.

It is rarely that the Emperor holds a Council of Ministers, and it may even be said that, except in the evil days in 1813 and 1814, he never held one in the sense which is given to it now. By careful search there will perhaps not be found more than five Grand Councils with the dignitaries during the whole reign. There were councils of interior administration, councils of commerce, councils of bridges and roads, councils of engineers, councils of the household, all sorts of special and technical councils; but he never forgets that, according to the Constitution, the Ministers, whom he alone nominates, form in no respect a united body. Each of them, therefore, comes in turn to work with him; and after the Ministers come the Directors-General, many of whom have powers more extensive than a Minister.

A Council of Ministers. Masson.

Outside the places which were purely decorative and which only gave rank at Court, on ceremonial occasions and on administering oaths of office, all offices require continual presence, an unwearied attention, and a custom of audiences with the master. Now, do we form any idea

what the administration of the Empire then amounted to?

The Prince Arch-Chancellor, Cambacérès, without having any ministerial office, is constantly consulted. He it is who, in the absence of the Emperor, centralizes the work of the Ministers, directs the deliberations of the Council of State, takes measures when urgency requires. When the Emperor is present he is not contented to hold a great position and to possess one of the best houses in Paris; on every question he gives advice which has been ripely considered, which is not inspired by a wish to please, and which is worth carefully weighing; above everything, he is a man who acts according to law and is the maker of laws.

The Arch-Chancellor, Cambacérès. Masson.

The Arch-Treasurer, Lebrun, much consulted at first, and who more than any man in the world contributed to keep at a distance the untrustworthy financiers, whom he understood in a marvellous way, was during the Empire generally entrusted with the government of recently annexed provinces.

The Arch-Treasurer, Lebrun. Ibid.

The other grand dignitaries seldom appeared, employed as they were the greater part of the time abroad; but at all hours the Secretary of State appears, through whom pass all the acts concerning ministerial departments, all the

decisions which the Emperor arrives at *proprio motu*, and all the signatures. Everything which has received its definite shape in the private Cabinet is sent off, registered, and classified at the office of the Secretary of State. There are copyists in numbers, people writing a fine hand, scrupulous clerks who would take to heart the responsibility of any delay or error of transmission.

The Secretary of State.

With any other sovereign, under any other form of government, the Secretary of State would be the most important man of the Empire. With Napoleon he remains a head clerk, who ought to possess punctuality, order, and exactitude, but who is not asked to furnish ideas, nor even to develop ideas of the master, still less to enlarge on them in conversation. The arrangement, excellent with such a man as Napoleon, is execrable when it concerns any other than Napoleon.

Various people occupied this post of confidence about the Emperor. Only one filled it, because he brought to it, in addition to absolute devotion and exemplary diligence, a complete, not to say active, submission. He had not to think for himself, but to gather up the thoughts of his master, and to take note of his acts. In this he excelled, being indefatigable, always ready, always attentive. Displaced and put at the head of ministerial departments he must have been less successful, for

he brought to them just the qualities which were so precious to the Secretaryship of State. He had the honor of being hateful to M. de Talleyrand, who never ceased lancing epigrams at him. One especially is celebrated. "There is only one man more stupid than M. Maret," said Talleyrand. "Who is that, then?" asked an intimate. "It is the Duc de Bassano." This hatred is easily explained. Maret possessed two virtues which the Prince of Benevento could not tolerate—courage and fidelity.

The Secretary of State followed the Emperor on campaign, in his visits to the country, everywhere. At Paris he lived quite close to the Tuileries, on the Place du Carrousel, and was sent for every moment. It was he who had by far the greatest authority among the Ministers.

The Minister of Justice. Masson.

After him, the Grand Judge, Minister of Justice, that little Régnier, formerly an advocate at Nancy, becoming Comte de Gronau, and then Duc de Massa, and one of the most considerable personages of the Empire, although, in truth, beyond his participation in Brumaire 18th, one is unable to discover his merits; at least, he possesses exactitude and a taste for work. This was necessary in order to give good justice to a hundred and thirty departments; to superintend the staff of more than five hundred tribunals of first instance,

and of thirty-six Imperial Courts; to introduce without jars in the annexed states the use of the Code Napoléon; to look after the interests of those who, in every place, make their living by justice; to regulate their privileges, and to punish their encroachments. Every pardon granted by the Emperor is guaranteed by a parchment signed by the Emperor. Every nomination above a certain grade is signed by him. No work of advancement is approved without investigations made by him. At the *Cour de Cassation*, for example, it is forbidden to appoint a magistrate without a presentment emanating from the actual chiefs of the Court. Try to imagine after that what the portfolio of justice represents!

Various duties of the Emperor. Masson.

In foreign affairs all the despatches, wherever they come from, pass into the hands of the Emperor, who alone forms his line of policy. He talks over the despatches with Talleyrand, who in his turn talks them over with his subordinates, looks through them again, reproduces in them with singular skill the characteristic expressions of the master, and takes them back to the Tuileries. With the successors of Talleyrand the effort of Napoleon is still greater; Champagny understands badly, Maret does not understand at all. Champagny misrepresents the idea; Maret reproduces the words literally, which is worse. Talleyrand

Foreign affairs. Ibid.

was a traitor, Champagny is faithful, Maret is devoted; but Talleyrand understands.

The Grand Marshal, Duroc. Masson.

As to foreign affairs, it is not enough that the minister or the directors, agents coming and returning, are received and questioned. When they live at the Court of those sovereigns who belong to the family of Napoleon, they supply personal facts and a detailed account of what passes at their Court, and their correspondence in that case passes through the hands of the Grand Marshal, who on such questions enjoys the complete confidence of the Emperor. Duroc, also, is always on duty, not being able to repose for an instant, or to get out of harness. Every moment the Emperor asks for him; for, in addition to the direction of the household, on him falls the work of the "benevolences" of the Emperor, a part of the work of the Imperial Guard, a work of police, without counting the missions of all sorts which are entrusted to him.

The Minister of the Interior, besides the duties which remained attached to his department, and the enormous charge of the Conscription, all the details of which pass under the eyes of Napoleon, had, in the early days, Directors-General, all of whom work directly with the Emperor. Thus Napoleon works with the director-general of Bridges and Roads; with the director (afterwards the

INSTALLATION OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE AT THE LITTLE LUXEMBOURG

By A. Couder

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Minister) of Public Worship; with the director of Public Instruction, subsequently the Grand Master of the University; with the director of the Administration of the Communes; with the director of Mines; with the director of the Imperial Printing Office and of the Library. On each of these subjects it would be possible from his correspondence and his decrees alone to draw up a professional treatise, and his history will only come within the range of study when it has been ascertained how much he was able to do in each of these branches of administration.

The Emperor's watchfulness. Masson.

About the finances he was not content to ask questions—and with how much detail!—of the two Ministers. He sees the directors-general of Registration, of Excise, of the Sinking Fund, of Forests, of Customs.

For the Emperor the Council of State was his thought in deliberation, while his Ministers were his thought in execution. Young men who had heard him think and who heard his thought in deliberation were, according to him, the only fitting persons to put it into execution; and this is why the Council was at the same time the highest school of administration, from which he expected to select all his agents brought up for civil pursuits. On that account the number of auditors constantly increased. That annoyed some of the

At the Council of State. Ibid.

old ones greatly, M. Victor de Broglie for example, who wrote to one of his friends: "Come, and you will see fine play; three hundred auditors of all shapes, of all ages, of all sizes. They are everywhere; at the Post, at the Customs, at the Lottery, at the Prefecture of Police. The 'sections' are completely renewed, and there is only salvation for us at the bridges and roads. There is no possibility of being comfortable elsewhere." But this grouping in cliques, in which the former nobles would have shut themselves up if they could have had their own way, was not to the Emperor's taste. His wish was to amalgamate these various elements, of different origin, of opposite opinions, so as to make a single body imbued with his spirit, from which, according to their fitness, he could select prefects or diplomats, commissaries, magistrates, private secretaries, and inspectors of all kinds. For that reason he was not sparing of his time. "I was present," said a listener, whose testimony I add to that of MM. de Barante, de Barthélemy, and de Broglie; "I was present at sittings of the Council of State over which the Emperor presided for seven consecutive hours. His stimulating influence, the prodigious penetration of his analytical mind, the clearness with which he summed up the most complicated questions, the care he took not only to suffer but to provoke

Napoleon as Master of the Council. Masson.

contradiction, the art of increasing devotion towards him by a familiarity which possessed the knack of behaving towards his inferiors as though they were his equals, produced an enthusiasm equal to that which he exercised over the army. Men exhausted themselves with work, as they died on the field of battle. All those who came near him fell under the influence of voluntary submission. (There is no imputation more calumnious than that he ruled by fear; as in the case of Cæsar, his power over men was the power of seductiveness.)"

The Council, continued. Masson.

M. Pasquier says that from the year 1808 the Emperor scarcely ever came to the Council of State except to harangue, to obtrude his wishes as laws, and that he no longer tolerated the smallest liberty of discussion. That the Emperor should experience on certain days a wish to unbosom himself, to announce certain of his political designs to those who were called on to put them in execution, is not a matter of astonishment. But that he could not bear contradiction is false. Those who contradicted him he treated so badly that Berlier, for example, whom at the Council of State he found constantly in loyal opposition to his designs, was made by him a Councillor of State for life, a Count of the Empire, with a stipend of 20,000 francs, received from him the presidency

of the Prize Court, and was granted on one occasion 60,000 francs. It is said that he no longer put the decision to the vote; yet Molé, Mollieu, Gaudin, Champagny report numbers of resolutions taken by the Council while the Emperor was sitting at it. If there were resolutions and decisions, it was necessary that the votes should have been taken.

The council, continued.

There is no doubt that new-comers, those whose name, and the recollection of ancestors, often imaginary, had alone caused them to enter the Council, and those again who had been admitted as a concequence of the annexation of their original country to the Empire, for they alone had the knowledge—Napoleon liked to consult, and when Boulay, Bertier, Réal, Regnaud, Defermon, Jollivet, Thibaudeau, Mathieu Dumas, had spoken, when those admirable Directors-General, all of whom were Councillors of State, Duchatel, Français, Bérenger, Pelet, Merlin, Bergon, Laumond, had given their advice, what light must they have shown to the others, those whose vanity was only equalled by their incapacity, who thought that Bonaparte was greatly honored by having them on his Councils, and who were only waiting the opportunity to betray him.

"I was in the Tuileries," says Mr. Hobhouse, "where five regiments of the line, and four of the

young guard, together with a body of recruits, were paraded before the Emperor. Napoleon stood for some time immediately under the window of the Council of State, in which I was placed, and gave me the opportunity of observing one or two circumstances which deserve to be mentioned. It was a very hot day, and he was standing in the shade of the building as the regiments passed, but, looking up, advanced a pace or two, and placed himself in the sun, evidently because he observed that he alone was protected from the heat. A battalion of the guard coming up, Napoleon stepped forward, and, whilst they were filing, marched with his hands behind him, absolutely confounded with and amongst the soldiers. Some regiments of the line were then drawn up in front, and presented arms; he walked along close to them, and seeing a grenadier with a petition in his hand, stopped before him, took the paper, talked for two minutes to him, and ended by pulling the man's nose. A little afterwards a colonel running up to him with some news, which he communicated with a laugh, the Emperor raised himself on tiptoe, and interrupted him by giving a sound box on the ear, on which the officer went away smiling, showing his cheek, which was red with the blow. I started at the sight, of which I knew neither the cause nor consequence, but was satisfied by a general officer,

Mr. Hobhouse's account of the Emperor. Bourrienne.

who informed me that such friendly slaps were not unusual with the Emperor, and that he himself had seen other instances of such singular familiarity. On another occasion, a soldier at review shouted "*Vive l'Empereur*," the whole being silent, when Napoleon went up to him, and asking him in how many campaigns he had served, added, 'How happens it you have not been promoted?' The soldier answered: 'On m'a fait la queue trois fois pour la croix.' 'Eh bien,' replied the Emperor, "je te donne la queue," and giving him a slap in the face, conferred upon him the cross of the Legion of Honor.

Napoleon's views on England. Labédoyère.

He said that it was his wish to have kept the peace of Amiens, but that we chose to break it. He praised, in the highest terms, the late Lord Cornwallis, as a man who, without superior talents, was, from his integrity and goodness of heart, an honor to his country. "That is what I call a specimen of the true race of English nobility," and he wished that he had had some of the same stamp in France. He added that he always knew whether the English Cabinet was sincere in any proposal for peace, through the persons they sent to treat. "I believe that if Mr. Fox had lived, we should have concluded a peace; for the manner in which he began his correspondence with Talleyrand gave us incontestable proof of his

good faith—you doubtless call to your recollection the circumstance of the assassin,—but those leagued with him in the administration were not so pacifically inclined." I said, that the impression we had of his views of aggrandizement made many of our statesmen, and Lord Granville among them, afraid of making peace with him. He replied: "You were mistaken. I was only desirous of making you just; I respect the English character, but I wanted a free maritime trade—events in creating wars furnished me the means of enlarging my Empire, and I did not neglect them; but I stood in need of some years' repose, to accomplish everything I intended for France. Tell Lord Granville to come and visit me at Elba. I believe you thought in England that I was the very devil; but now you have seen France and me, you will probably allow that you have, in some respects, been deceived."

The same, continued.

I then attacked his detention of English travelers; which he justified on the score of retaliation, in our having made prizes at sea before a declaration of war. I replied, that such a proceeding had been sanctioned by long use. He said: "Yes, to you who gain, but not to others who suffered from it; and if you make new laws of nations, I was justified in doing the same. I am fully convinced that in your hearts you allow

I was right, because I displayed energy in the proceeding. And I have, equally with yourselves, somewhat of the pirate about me."

Views on England, concluded. Labédoyère.

I observed to him how much I had been struck with the general state of cultivation in France. He ascribed it chiefly to the division of property produced by the revolution; and, in some degree, to the encouragement he had given to agriculture, which had always been his first object; then manufactures; and thirdly, commerce. In England he knew that, from her local situation, the case must be different; but she should think ill of her prosperity, when the interests of the land came to be sacrificed to those of commerce. He went at some length into his plan for the reëstablishment of an aristocracy, by restoring or giving titles of nobility to all who could prove their immediate descent from persons who had served the country in any high office, civil or military; buying estates for them, according to their several degrees of nobility; for himself.

Preliminaries of Napoleon's abdication. Bourrienne.

When, in discussing the question of abdication conformably with the instructions received, Macdonald observed to the Emperor Alexander that Napoleon wished for nothing. "Assure him," replied Alexander, "that a provision shall be made for him worthy of the rank he has occupied. Tell him that if he wishes to reside in my states he

shall be well received, though he brought desolation there. I shall always remember the friendship which united us. He shall have the island of Elba, or something else." After taking leave of the Emperor Alexander, on the 5th of April, Napoleon's Commissioners returned to Fontainebleau to render an account of their mission. I saw Alexander that same day, and it appeared to me that his mind was relieved of a great weight by the question of the Regency being brought to an end. I was informed that he intended to quit Paris in a few days, and that he had given full powers to M. Pozzodi-Borgo, whom he appointed his Commissioner to the Provisional Government.

Interview with Alexander. Bourrienne.

On the same day, the 5th of April, Napoleon inspected his troops in the Palace yard of Fontainebleau. He observed some coolness among his officers, and even among the private soldiers, who had evinced such enthusiasm when he inspected them on the 2d of April. He was so much affected by this change of conduct that he remained but a short time on the parade, and afterwards retired to his apartments.

Napoleon inspects soldiers. Ibid.

"The Allied Powers having declared that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the reëstablishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to leave France,

and even to lay down his life for the welfare of the country, which is inseparable from the rights of his son, those of the Regency of the Empress, and the maintenance of the laws of the Empire. Given at our Palace of Fontainebleau, 2d April, 1814."

When Marmont left Paris on receipt of the intelligence from Essonne, Marshals Macdonald and Ney and the Duke of Vicenza waited upon the Emperor Alexander to learn his resolution before he could have been informed of the movement of Marmont's troops. I myself went during the morning to the hotel of M. de Talleyrand, and it was there I learnt how what we had hoped for had become fact; the matter was completely decided. The Emperor Alexander had walked out at six in the morning to the residence of the King of Prussia in the Rue de Bourbon. The two sovereigns afterwards proceeded together to M. de Talleyrand's, where they were when Napoleon's Commissioners arrived. The Commissioners being introduced to the two sovereigns, the Emperor Alexander, in answer to their proposition, replied that the Regency was impossible, as submissions to the Provisional Government were pouring in from all parts, and that if the army had formed contrary wishes those should have been sooner made known. "Sire," observed Macdonald, "that was impossible,

Napoleon's Commissioners meet the allied sovereigns. Bourrienne.

as none of the Marshals were in Paris, and besides, who could foresee the turn affairs have taken? Could we imagine that an unfounded alarm would have removed from Essonne the corps of the Duke of Ragusa, who has this moment left us to bring his troops back to order?" These words produced no change in the determination of the sovereigns, who would hear of nothing but the unconditional abdication of Napoleon. Before the Marshals took leave of the Emperor Alexander they solicited an armistice of forty-eight hours, which time they said was indispensable to negotiate the act of abdication with Napoleon. This request was granted without hesitation, and the Emperor Alexander, showing Macdonald a map of the environs of Paris, courteously presented him with a pencil, saying: "Here, Marshal, mark yourself the limits to be observed by the two armies." "No, Sire," replied Macdonald, "we are the conquered party, and it is for you to mark the line of demarcation." Alexander determined that the right bank of the Seine should be occupied by the Allied troops, and the left bank by the French; but it was observed that this arrangement would be attended with inconvenience, as it would cut Paris in two, and it was agreed that the line should turn Paris. I have been informed that on a map sent to the Austrian staff to acquaint Prince

An armistice arranged. Bourrienne.

Schwarzenberg with the limits definitely agreed upon, Fontainebleau, the Emperor's headquarters, was by some artful means included within the line. The Austrians acted so implicitly on this direction that Marshal Macdonald was obliged to complain on the subject to Alexander, who removed all obstacles.

About one o'clock on the morning of the 6th of April, Ney, Macdonald, and Caulaincourt arrived at Fontainebleau to acquaint the Emperor with the issue of their mission and the sentiments expressed by Alexander when they took leave of him. Marshal Ney was the first to announce to Napoleon that the Allies required his complete and unconditional abdication, unaccompanied by any stipulation, except that of his personal safety, which should be guaranteed. Marshal Macdonald and the Duke of Vicenza then spoke to the same effect, but in more gentle terms than those employed by Ney, who was but little versed in the courtesies of speech. When Marshal Macdonald had finished speaking, Napoleon said with some emotion: "Marshal, I am sensible of all that you have done for me, and of the warmth with which you have pleaded the cause of my son. They wish for my complete and unconditional abdication.—Very well—I again empower you to act on my behalf. You shall go and defend my interests and

Return of the Commissioners to Napoleon. Bourrienne.

those of my family." Then, after a moment's pause, he added, still addressing Macdonald, "Marshal, where shall I go?" Macdonald then informed the Emperor what Alexander had mentioned in the hypothesis of his wishing to reside in Russia. "Sire," added he, "the Emperor of Russia told me that he destined for you the island of Elba, or something else." "Or something else!" repeated Napoleon hastily——"and what is that something else?" "Sire, I know not." "Ah! it is doubtless the island of Corsica, and he refrained from mentioning it to avoid embarrassment! Marshal, I leave all to you."

They return to Paris. Bourrienne.

The Marshals returned to Paris as soon as Napoleon furnished them with new powers; Caulaincourt remained at Fontainebleau. On arriving in Paris Marshal Ney sent in his adhesion to the Provisional Government, so that when Macdonald returned to Fontainebleau to convey to Napoleon the definitive treaty of the Allies, Ney did not accompany him, and the Emperor expressed surprise and dissatisfaction at his absence. Ney, as all his friends concur in admitting, expended his whole energy in battle, and often wanted resolution when out of the field, consequently I was not surprised to find that he joined us before some other of his comrades. As to Macdonald, he was one of those generous spirits who may be most

confidently relied on by those who have wronged them. Napoleon experienced the truth of this. Macdonald returned alone to Fontainebleau, and when he entered the Emperor's chamber he found him seated in a small arm-chair before the fireplace. He was dressed in a morning gown of white dimity, and he wore his slippers without stockings. His elbows rested on his knees and his head was supported by his hands. He was motionless, and seemed absorbed in profound reflection. Only two persons were in the apartment, the Duke of Bassano, who was at a little distance from the Emperor, and Caulaincourt, who was near the fireplace. So profound was Napoleon's reverie that he did not hear Macdonald enter, and the Duke of Vicenza was obliged to inform him of the Marshal's presence. "Sire," said Caulaincourt, "the Duke of Tarentum has brought for your signature the treaty which is to be ratified to-morrow." The Emperor then, as if roused from a lethargic slumber, turned to Macdonald, and merely said: "Ah, Marshal! so you are here!" Napoleon's countenance was so altered that the Marshal, struck with the change, said, as if it were involuntarily: "Is your Majesty indisposed?" "Yes," answered Napoleon, "I have passed a very bad night."

Macdonald brings the treaty to Napoleon. Bourrienne.

The Emperor continued seated for a moment, then rising, he took the treaty, read it without

making any observations, signed it, and returned it to the Marshal saying: "I am not now rich enough to reward these last services." "Sire, interest never guided my conduct." "I know that, and I now see how I have been deceived respecting you. I also see the designs of those who prejudiced me against you." "Sire, I have already told you, since 1809 I am devoted to you in life and death." "I know it. But since I cannot reward you as I wish, let a token of remembrance, inconsiderable though it be, assure you that I shall ever bear in mind the services you have rendered me." Then turning to Caulaincourt Napoleon said: "Vicenza, ask for the sabre which was given me by Murad Bey in Egypt, and which I wore at the battle of Mount Tabor." Constant having brought the sabre, the Emperor took it from the hands of Caulaincourt and presented it to the Marshal. "Here, my faithful friend," said he, "is a reward which I believe will gratify you." Macdonald on receiving the sabre said: "If ever I have a son, Sire, this will be his most precious inheritance. I will never part with it as long as I live." "Give me your hand," said the Emperor, "and embrace me." At these words Napoleon and Macdonald affectionately rushed into each others' arms, and parted with tears in their eyes. Such was the last interview between Macdonald and

Napoleon presents a sword to Macdonald. Bourrienne.

Napoleon. I had the above particulars from the Marshal himself in 1814, a few days after he returned to Paris with the treaty ratified by Napoleon.

After the clauses of the treaty had been guaranteed, Napoleon signed on the 11th of April, at Fontainebleau, his act of abdication, which was in the following terms: "The Allied Powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the reëstablishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interests of France."

The final abdication. Bourrienne.

It is certain that at Fontainebleau Napoleon was, almost at one and the same moment, the victim of every kind of mental distress with which man can possibly be assailed. Subdued by defection and not by force of arms, he felt all that could rouse the indignation of a lofty mind, or break an affectionate heart. His friends forsook him; his servants betrayed him; one surrendered his army; another his treasure. The men whom he had reared, maintained, and loaded with favors, were those who wrought his overthrow. The members of the Senate, who, only the day before,

Napoleon's mental distress. Ibid.

had supplied him profusely with conscripts to oppose the enemy, scrupled not to become the instruments of that very enemy. Under the impulse of foreign bayonets, they imputed to him as a crime that which was their own work; and basely broke the idol which they had themselves created, and so servilely worshipped. What a depth of disgrace and degradation! Finally (and this stroke Napoleon felt more severely than all the rest), his wife and child were carried away from him; and, in defiance of treaties and laws, in opposition to all moral principle, he was never allowed to see them more!

TREATY OF FONTAINEBLEAU.

The Treaty of Fontainebleau Las Cases.

"Article I.—His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion over the French Empire, and the Kingdom of Italy, as well as over every other country.

"II.—Their Majesties the Emperor Napoleon and Empress Maria Louisa, shall retain their titles and rank, to be enjoyed during their lives.

"The mother, brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces of the Emperor, shall also retain, wherever they may reside, the titles of Princes of the Emperor's family.

her private fortune, movable and immovable, with power to dispose of it conformably to the French laws.

"VIII.—There shall be granted to Prince Eugène, Viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment out of France.

"IX.—The property which the Emperor Napoleon possesses in France, either as extraordinary domain, or private domain, will remain attached to the crown.

"Of the funds vested by the Emperor in the great book of France, in the French Bank, in the *Action des Forets*, or in any other manner, and which His Majesty resigns to the crown, there shall be reserved a capital, not exceeding 2,000,000 of francs, to be expended in gratuities, in favor of the individuals whose names shall be contained in a list signed by the Emperor Napoleon, and which shall be transmitted to the French Government.

The Treaty, continued. Las Cases.

"X.—All the crown diamonds shall remain in France.

"XI.—His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon shall return to the Treasury, and to the other public funds, all the sums and effects that may have been taken therefrom by his orders, with the exception of what has been appropriated from the civil list.

"XII.—The debts of the household of His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, such as they may be at the time of the signature of the present treaty, shall be immediately discharged out of the arrears due by the public treasury to the civil list, according to a list which shall be signed by a Commissioner appointed for that purpose.

"XIII.—The obligations of the Monte-Napoleone, of Milan, towards all creditors, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, shall be punctually fulfilled, without any charge being made in this respect.

The same, continued. Las Cases.

"XIV.—There shall be granted all the necessary passports for the free passage of His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, the Empress, the Prince and Princesses, and all the persons of their suites, who wish to accompany them, or fix their abode in foreign countries, as well as for the passage of all the equipages, horses, and effects belonging to them.

"The Allied Powers will, in consequence, furnish officers and men for escort.

"XV.—The French Imperial Guard shall furnish a detachment of from 1,200 to 1,500 men, of all arms, to serve as an escort to the Emperor to St. Topex, the place of his embarkation.

"XVI.—A brig and the necessary transport vessels shall be fitted out to convey to the place

of his destination His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and his household. The brig shall belong, in full property, to His Majesty the Emperor.

"XVII.—The Emperor shall be allowed to take with him, and retain as his guard, 400 men, volunteers and officers, as well as sub-officers and soldiers.

"XVIII.—Every Frenchman who may follow the Emperor Napoleon, or his family, shall be held to have forfeited his rights as a Frenchman, should he not return to France within three years; at least, if he be not included in the exceptions which the French Government reserves to itself to grant, after the expiration of that period.

"XIX.—The Polish troops of all arms, in the service of France, shall be at liberty to return home, and shall retain their arms and baggage, as a testimony of their honorable services. The officers, sub-officers, and soldiers, shall retain the decorations which have been granted to them, and the pensions annexed to these decorations.

The Treaty, concluded. Las Cases.

"XX.—The Allied Powers guarantee the execution of the articles of the present treaty, and promise to obtain its adoption and guarantee by France.

"XXI.—The present act shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris within ten days, or sooner, if possible.

"Done at Paris, April 11, 1814.

(Signed)

"Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza;
"Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarento;
"Marshal Ney, Duke of Elchingen;
"Prince Metternich."

The same articles were signed separately and under the same date, by Count Nesselrode, on behalf of Russia, and Baron Hardenberg, on behalf of Prussia.

Napoleon's relations with the Imperial Guard. Bourrienne.

The mutual attachment that existed between Napoleon and the famed Imperial Guard made the parting with them very painful. Having assembled as many of them as he could, they were drawn out in review order. The Emperor on his arrival walked along in front of their line and took his last farewell. In doing this he betrayed great emotion, but tears like rain poured from the eyes of many of the soldiery who had grown gray under arms. He is reported to have said: "All Europe has armed against me. France herself has deserted me, and chosen other rulers. I might have maintained with you, my brave soldiers, a civil war for years, but that would have made France wretched. Be faithful to the new sovereign whom France has chosen. Do not lament my fate; I shall always be happy while I

know you are so. I could have died—nothing was easier—but I will always follow the paths of honor. I will record with my pen the deeds we have done together. I cannot embrace you all, but I embrace your General." (He pressed the General to his heart.) "Bring hither the eagle." He kissed the standard, and concluded by saying: "Dear eagle, may the kisses I give you long resound in the hearts of the brave. Adieu, my children! Adieu, my brave companions! Surround me once more. Adieu!"

Letter to Marshal Augereau. Bingham.

The following letter, taken from Captain Bingham's recently published selections from the Correspondence of the first Napoleon, indicates in emphatic language the Emperor's dissatisfaction with Marshal Augereau when in command at Lyons during the "death struggle" of 1814:

"To Marshal Augereau:

"Nogent, 21st February, 1814.

". . . What! six hours after having received the first troops coming from Spain you were not in the field! Six hours' repose was sufficient. I won the action of Nangis with a brigade of dragoons coming from Spain which, since it had left Bayonne, had not unbridled its horses. The six battalions of the division of Nîmes want clothes, equipment, and drilling, say you? What poor reasons you give me there, Augereau! I have

destroyed 80,000 enemies with conscripts having nothing but knapsacks! The National Guards, say you, are pitiable; I have 4,000 here in round hats, without knapsacks, in wooden shoes, but with good muskets, and I get a great deal out of them. There is no money, you continue; and where do you hope to draw money from? You want wagons; take them wherever you can. You have no magazines; this is too ridiculous. I order you twelve hours after the reception of this letter to take the field. If you are still Augereau of Castiglione, keep the command, but if your sixty years weigh upon you, hand over the command to your senior general. The country is in danger, and can be saved by boldness and alacrity alone. . . .

(Signed) "Napoleon."

It was on the 3d of May, 1814, that Bonaparte arrived within sight of Porto Ferrajo, the capital of his miniature empire; but he did not land till the next morning. At first he paid a short visit incognito, being accompanied by a sergeant's party of marines from the Undaunted. He then returned on board to breakfast, and at about two o'clock made his public entrance, the Undaunted firing a royal salute.

Napoleon's arrival at Elba.

In every particular of his conduct he paid great attention to the maintenance of his Imperial

dignity. On landing he received the keys of his city of Porto Ferrajo, and the devoirs of the Governor, Prefect, and other dignitaries, and he proceeded immediately under a canopy of state to the parish church, which served as a cathedral. There he heard *Te Deum*, and it is stated that his countenance was dark and melancholy, and that he even shed tears.

He selects a flag.

One of Bonaparte's first cares was to select a flag for the Elbese Empire, and after some hesitation he fixed on "Argent, on a bend gules, three bees or," as the armorial ensign of his new dominion. It is strange that neither he nor any of those whom he consulted should have been aware that Elba had an ancient and peculiar ensign, and it is still more remarkable that this ensign should be one singularly adapted to Bonaparte's situation; being no more than "a wheel,—the emblem," says M. Bernaud, "of the vicissitudes of human life, which the Elbese had borrowed from the Egyptian mysteries." This is as curious a coincidence as any we ever recollect to have met; as the medals of Elba with the emblem of the wheel are well known, we cannot suppose that Bonaparte was aware of the circumstances; yet he is represented as having in vain made several anxious inquiries after the ancient arms of the island.

When Caulaincourt informed Napoleon that he was required to surrender the crown of France to his son, he replied, in a terribly impressive tone: "That is to say, they will not treat with me. They mean to drive me from the throne which I conquered by my sword. They wish to make a Helot of me, an object of derision, intended for an example to those who, by their genius and superior talent alone, command men, and make lawful kings tremble on their worm-eaten thrones. . . . When I was happy I thought I knew men, but it was fated that I should know them in misfortune only."

Napoleon's sentiments on the Bourbons.

"Restore the Bourbons!" Napoleon exclaimed, in another conversation; "it is not merely madness, but it shows a desire to inflict every kind of misery on the country. Is it true, really, that such an idea is seriously entertained? . . . The Senate cannot surely consent to see a Bourbon on the throne. Setting aside the baseness of agreeing to such an arrangement, what place could be assigned to the Senate in a court from which they or their fathers before them dragged Louis XVI. to the scaffold? As for me, I was a new man, unsullied by the vices of the French Revolution. I had no motive for revenge. I had everything to reconstruct. I should never have dared to sit on the vacant throne of France, had not my brow

been bound with laurels. The French people elevated me, because I had executed with them, and for them, great and noble works. But the Bourbons! What have they done for France? What proportion of the victories, of the glory, or prosperity of France, belongs to them? Tranquillity will never be insured to the Bourbons in Paris. Remember my prophecy, Caulaincourt."

Napoleon's letters from Elba.

From Elba, Napoleon wrote to Caulaincourt: "It is less difficult than people think to accustom one's self to a life of retirement and peace, when one possesses within one's self some resource to make time useful. I employ myself much in my study, and when I go out I enjoy some happy moments in seeing again my brave grenadiers. Here my reflections are not continually coming in contact with painful recollections."

Again he wrote: "The lot of a dethroned King, who has been born a king and nothing more, must be dreadful. The pomp of the throne, the gewgaws which surround him from his cradle, and which accompany him step by step throughout his life, become a necessary condition of his existence. For me, always a soldier, and a sovereign by chance, the luxuries of royalty proved a heavy charge. The toils of war and a rough camp life are best suited to my organization, my habits, and my tastes. Of all my past grandeur, I alone

regret my soldiers; and of all the jewels of my crown, the French uniforms which they allowed me to take with me are the most precious I have preserved."

An American, in "Napoleon his own Historian," gives the following account of an interview with Napoleon, at Elba:

"You come from France?" he said.

"Yes, Sire."

"You must have found Paris extremely embellished?"

"The public monuments are magnificent."

Napoleon's interview with an American at Elba.

"I had projected many others. My purpose was to spend four hundred millions in doing honor to military courage. Paris would have had temples superior to those of Rome. I hope what I had begun will be continued. I finished the Louvre. The King ought to finish the Temple of Glory. Is the King beloved?"

"Yes, Sire."

"He is a man of some talents; I always had a great esteem for him. He has not an easy task to perform; I exhorted my soldiers to be faithful to him. A civil war in France is above all things to be deprecated; it could only take place in my favor. I renounced the throne voluntarily. I would gladly have preserved it for my son; but a regency was very difficult after all that had passed. It

could have had no stability but in the case of my having fallen in battle. Did you see the Emperor Alexander?"

"Once, at the theatre."

"He must have been received with acclamations; he has conducted himself very well with regard to the French. He has great qualities, he is good and generous; but these are not sufficient to command; he loses himself in little things. I have been much in the wrong with regard to him. My war was unjust; but I was obliged to undertake it, or give up the continental system. Is it true that my museum has not been touched?"

The interview, continued.

"I understood that nothing had been taken away, and that this was entirely owing to the Emperor Alexander."

"Such generosity is admirable; in his place, I should not have been so forbearing; there is true greatness in such a procedure. However, as a man in his situation should always do something extraordinary, he must either take all or leave all; and to take all would perhaps have been difficult with the French. What do they think of the Senate in France?"

"The ancient members are not held in much esteem."

"The King ought to discard them all."

Here Napoleon's countenance, which had hitherto been mild and pleasant, assumed an expression of anger. He added: "I wished to preserve my authority only to punish them; those cringing courtiers are guilty of all the ills which I have accused them of; they readily yielded to my will; fear of losing their places rendered them more supple and despicable than were the Roman Senate under their Emperors. Their speakers thought of nothing but inventing new phrases of adulation in addressing me, and approving the wisdom of my decrees. They were loaded with my favors, and they betrayed me from fear for themselves, not in the idea of saving France. Those wretches are shameless enough to do anything which they think is for their personal interest; they will betray the King as easily as they betrayed me, if they believe that anything is to be gained by it. With the exception of two or three, the ancient military, the King ought to sweep the halls of Luxembourg free of these reptiles. Their servility made me a despot. If some of the Senators had opposed my will, I should have discarded them, 'tis true; but their energy would have saved France from a torrent of evil. I should have been afraid of new opposition, and looked more carefully to what I was about. If they had sometimes opposed me, I should have had less contempt for

Napoleon on the French Senate.

mankind. I feel that I possess such qualities as might have rendered France happy; but then I ought to have had about me men of some firmness, not so thirsty of favor and fortune. For ten years I found nothing but courtiers, and was surrounded by nothing but flatteries. What man could resist this? I will say confidently, not one. Every year of my reign I saw more and more plainly, that the harsher the treatment men received the greater was their submission and devotion. My despotism then increased in proportion to my contempt for mankind. Those who first shunned places at my court, afterwards were the most forward to solicit them. My ante-chamber was filled with the ancient French noblesse; I saw nothing but courtiers around me, not a single man. The French, so brave in the field, have no civic courage."

Napoleon's opinion of the French courtiers.

On another occasion, Napoleon said to this same gentleman: "I committed three great political faults. I ought to have made peace with England in abandoning Spain; I ought to have restored the kingdom of Poland, and not have gone to Moscow; I ought to have made peace at Dresden, giving up Hamburg, and some other countries that were useless to me."

On Napoleon's return from Elba, one of the first persons sent for was Carnot, whom he consulted,

when that disinterested patriot informed him there was but one plan to pursue, which, if followed, success would result: "But," continued Carnot, "it is useless to consult me, for the advice I shall give you will never adopt." Napoleon then insisted that he would be explicit, when the former said: "Sire, you must forget all those sentiments that swayed you prior to your abdication last year—you must divest your mind of all the gew-gaw of imperial dignity—France, from the commencement of your reign, ever has, and never will cease to require a free constitution—accede to her wishes, summon from the several departments the most experienced legislators we possess—let them draw out such a code as will be acceptable to the nation—stand forth yourself the leader of your armies—let the rallying word be: "Il s'agit de sauver la France: Et sur ma tête la France sera sauvée! [Be the struggle now to save France; and I will stake my head that France will be saved!] But be your decisions, Sire, whatever they may," continued Carnot, "my feeble abilities shall uniformly be exerted to second your endeavors, and benefit the interests of my country, whose welfare has ever been the cherished object of my heart."

Napoleon's interview with Carnot, Labédoyère.

It was Carnot also who, upon the Emperor's abdication, fell on his knees, stating that he acted

wrong in so doing, when Napoleon replied that he was himself conscious of the fact, but, as a majority of the nation seemed to desire it, he was determined to yield to the voice of the people. Carnot then, finding all entreaties vain, placing his hands before his eyes, burst into a flood of tears, exclaiming: "Oh! France! Thy repentance will come too late!" Those words, and particularly the unfeigned agony of the speaker, so greatly affected the Emperor, that he was compelled to turn his head in order to conceal the poignancy of his emotion.

Napoleon's condition and manner after Waterloo.

After the battle of Waterloo, the Emperor returned to the Elysée, where Caulaincourt awaited him. "He endeavored," says Caulaincourt, "to give vent to the emotions of his heart, but his oppressed respiration permitted him to articulate only broken sentences."

"The army," he said, "has performed prodigies of valor . . . inconceivable efforts . . . What troops! Ney behaved like a madman . . He caused my cavalry to be cut to pieces . . . All has been sacrificed . . . I am ill and exhausted . . . I must lie down for an hour or two . . . My head burns . . . I must take a bath."

After his bath: "It is grievous," he continued, "to think that we should have been overcome

after so many heroic efforts. My most brilliant victories do not shed more glory on the French army than the defeat of Mont St. Jean . . . Our troops have not been beaten; they have been sacrificed—massacred by overwhelming numbers . . My guards suffered themselves to be cut to pieces without asking for quarter . . . I wished to have died with them, but they exclaimed: 'Withdraw, withdraw, you see that Death is resolved to spare your Majesty.' And opening their ranks, my old grenadiers screened me from the carnage, forming around me a rampart of their bodies . . . My brave, my admirable guard, has been destroyed . . . and I have not perished with them."

Napoleon's broken sentences to Caulaincourt.

"I had," resumed the Emperor, "conceived a bold manœuvre, with the view of preventing the junction of the two hostile armies. I had combined my cavalry into a single corps of twenty thousand men, and ordered it to rush into the midst of the Prussian cantonments. This bold attack, which was executed on the 14th, with the rapidity of lightning, seemed likely to decide the fate of the campaign. French troops never calculate the number of an enemy's force . . . They care not how they shed their blood in success . . . They are invincible in prosperity; but I was compelled to change my plan. Instead

of making an unexpected attack, I found myself obliged to engage in a regular battle, having opposed to me two combined armies supported by immense reserves. The enemy's forces quadrupled the number of ours. I had calculated all the disadvantages of a regular battle. The infamous desertion of Bourmont forced me to change all my arrangements. To pass over to the enemy on the eve of a battle! Atrocious! The blood of his fellow-countrymen be on his head! The maledictions of France will pursue him."

"Sire," observed Caulaincourt, "how unfortunate that you did not follow your own impulse; on a former occasion you rejected that man."

The same, continued. Reasons for his defeat.

"Oh! this baseness is incredible. The annals of the French army offer no precedent for such a crime. Jomini was not a Frenchman. The consequences of this defection have been most disastrous. It has created despondency in the minds of those who witnessed the paralyzing effects of previous treasons. My orders were not properly understood, and consequently there was some degree of hesitation in executing them. At one time Grouchy was too late; at another time, Ney was carried away by his enthusiasm and intrepidity. He exposed himself to danger like any common soldier, without looking either before or behind him; and his troops were sacrificed without any

necessity. It is deplorable to think of it! Our army performed prodigies of valor, and yet we have lost the battle. Generals, Marshals, all fought gloriously; but, nevertheless, an indescribable uncertainty and anxiety pervaded the commanders of the army. There was no unity, no precision, in the movements—and," he added, with painful emotion, "I have been assured that cries of *Sauve qui peut* were uttered. I cannot believe this. What I suffered, Caulaincourt, was worse than the tortures of Fontainebleau. I feel that I have had my death-wound. The blow I received at Waterloo is mortal!"

Napoleon at Malmaison.

When Caulaincourt visited Napoleon at Malmaison, he said to him:

"Well, Caulaincourt! this is truly draining the cup of misfortune to the dregs. I wished to defer my departure only for the sake of fighting at the head of the army. I wished only to contribute my aid in repelling the enemy. I have had enough of sovereignty. I want no more of it, I want no more of it!" (He repeated these words with marked vehemence.) "I am no longer a sovereign, but I am still a soldier! When I heard the cannon roar —when I reflected that my troops were without a leader—that they were to endure the humiliation of a defeat without having fought—my blood boiled with indignation. All I wished for was a

glorious death amidst my brave troops. But my coöperation would have defeated the schemes of traitors. France has been sold. She has been surrendered without a blow being struck in her defence. Thirty-two millions of men have been made to bow their heads to an arrogant conqueror, without disputing the victory. Such a spectacle as France now presents is not to be found in the history of any other nation. What has France become in the hands of the imbecile government which has ruled her for the last fifteen months? Is she any longer the nation unequalled in the world? . . . In 1814, honest men might justly say, all is lost except honor—except national dignity. Let them now bow down their heads with mortification, for now all—all is lost . . . And that villain Fouché imagines that I would resume the sovereignty in the degradation to which it is now reduced. Never—never. The place that is assigned to the sovereign is no longer tenable. I am disgusted alike with men and things, and I am anxious only to enjoy repose. I am utterly indifferent about my future state—and I endure life, without attaching myself to it by any alluring chimeras. I carry with me from France recollections which will constitute at once the charm and torment of the remainder of my days. A bitter and incurable regret must ever

Napoleon at Malmaison, continued.

be connected with this last phase of my singular career. Alas! what will become of the army—my brave, my unparalleled army! The reaction will be terrible, Caulaincourt. The army will be doomed to expiate its fidelity to my cause, its heroic resistance at Waterloo. Waterloo! What horrible recollections are connected with that name. Oh! if you had seen that handful of heroes, closely pressed one upon another, resisting immense masses of the enemy, not to defend their lives, but to meet death on the field of battle where they could not conquer! The English stood amazed at sight of this desperate heroism, and weary of the carnage, they implored the martyrs to surrender. This merciful summons was answered by the sublime cry: 'Le garde meurt, et ne se rend pas.' The Imperial Guard has immortalized the French people and the Empire!"

Napoleon's apostrophe to the Army at Waterloo.

When the crowd around the Champs Elysées was tumultuous in its acclamations, Napoleon turned to Benjamin Constant, who had urged him to arm the masses, and said: "These poor people who now come to condole with me in my reverses, I have not loaded with honors and riches. I leave them poor as I found them. But the instinct of country enlightens them. The voice of the nation speaks through their mouths. I have but to utter a word and the Chamber of Deputies would exist

no longer. But no! not a single life shall be sacrificed. I have not come from Elba to inundate Paris with blood!"

"Rochefort, July 13, 1815.

"Your Royal Highness:

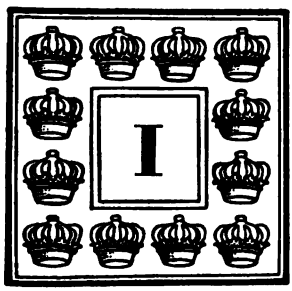
Napoleon's letter to the Prince Regent.

"Exposed to the factions that distract my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and come, like Themistocles, to establish myself on the hearth of the British people. I place myself under the protection of its laws, which I claim of your royal highness, as the most powerful, constant, and most generous of my enemies."

NAPOLEON:
EXILE AND PHILOSOPHER
1815 - 1821

NAPOLEON:
EXILE AND PHILOSOPHER
1815-1821

BONAPARTE'S PROTEST.



HEREBY solemnly protest, in the face of heaven and mankind, against the violence done to me, and the infringement of my most sacred rights, in forcibly disposing of my person and liberty. I came voluntarily on board the Bellerophon; I am no prisoner, but the guest of England. I came on board even at the instigation of the Captain, who told me he had orders from the government to receive myself and suite, and conduct me to England, if that measure was agreeable to me. I presented myself with good faith, in order to place myself under the protection of the English laws. As soon as I was on board the Bellerophon, I was consequently under the safeguard of the British people. If the government, in giving orders to the Captain of the Bellerophon to receive me as well as my suite, only intended to lay a snare for me, it has forfeited its honor and disgraced its flag.

Napoleon's appeal from the Bellerophon. Labédoyère.

If this act be consummated, the English will in vain boast to Europe of their integrity, laws, and liberty. British good faith will be lost in the hospitality of the Bellerophon. I appeal to history; which will record that an enemy, who had for twenty years waged war against the English people, repaired voluntarily, in his misfortunes, to seek an asylum under their laws. What more brilliant proof could he give of his esteem and confidences? But what return did England make for so much magnanimity? She feigned to stretch forth the hand of hospitality to that enemy; and when he delivered himself up in good faith, she sacrificed him.

(Signed) "Napoleon."

"On Board the Bellerophon, 4th August, 1815."

The Northumberland sails. Bourrienne.

On the 10th of August the Northumberland cleared the Channel, and lost sight of land. The course of the ship was shaped to cross the Bay of Biscay and double Cape Finisterre. The wind was fair, though light, and the heat excessive. Napoleon breakfasted in his own cabin at irregular hours. He sent for one of his attendants every morning to know the distance run, the state of the wind, and other particulars connected with their progress. He read a great deal, dressed towards four o'clock, and then came into the public saloon; here he played at chess with one of the party; at

five o'clock the Admiral announced that dinner was on the table. It is well known that Napoleon was scarcely ever more than fifteen minutes at dinner; here the two courses alone took up nearly an hour and a half. This was a serious annoyance to him, though his features and manner always evinced perfect equanimity. Neither the new system of cookery nor the quality of the dishes ever met with his censure. He was waited on by two valets, who stood behind his chair. At first the Admiral was in the habit of offering several dishes to the Emperor, but the acknowledgment of the latter was expressed so coldly that the practice was given up. The Admiral thenceforth only pointed out to the servants what was preferable. Napoleon was generally silent, as if unacquainted with the language, though it was French. If he spoke, it was to ask some technical or scientific question, or to address a few words to those whom the Admiral occasionally asked to dinner.

Napoleon's life on the Northumberland. Bourrienne.

The Emperor arose immediately after coffee had been handed round, and went on deck, followed by the Grand Marshal and Las Cases. This disconcerted Admiral Cockburn, who expressed his surprise to his officers; but Madame Bertrand, whose maternal language was English, replied with spirit: "Do not forget, sir, that your guest is a man who has governed a large portion of the world,

and that kings once contended for the honor of being admitted to his table."

The voyage to St. Helena. Bourrienne.

On the 1st of September they found themselves in the latitude of the Cape de Verde Islands. Everything now promised a prosperous passage, but the time hung heavily. Las Cases had undertaken to teach his son English, and the Emperor also expressed a wish to learn. He, however, soon grew tired and laid it aside, nor was it resumed till long afterwards. His manners and habits were always the same; he invariably appeared contented, patient, and good-humored. The Admiral gradually laid aside his reserve, and took an interest in his great captive. He pointed out the danger incurred by coming on deck after dinner, owing to the damp of the evening; the Emperor would then sometimes take his arm and prolong the conversation, talking sometimes on naval affairs, on the French resources in the South, and on the improvements he had contemplated in the ports and harbors of the Mediterranean—to all of which the Admiral listened with deep attention.

The appearance of St. Helena from the sea is gloomy and forbidding. Masses of volcanic rock, with sharp and jagged peaks, tower up round the coast, and form an iron girdle which seems to bar all access to the interior. And the few points where a landing can be effected were then bris-

tling with cannon, so as to render the aspect still more formidable. The whole island bears evidence of having been formed by the tremendous agency of fire, but so gigantic are the strata of which it is composed, and so disproportioned to its size, that some have thought it the relic and wreck of a vast submerged continent. Its seared and barren sides, without foliage or verdure, present an appearance of dreary desolation. (Forsyth's "Lowe," vol. i., pp. 26, 27.)

Description of St. Helena. O'Meara.

The Island of St. Helena is situated in latitude 15 degrees 55 minutes S., and longitude 5 degrees 46 minutes W., in the southeast trade wind. It is about ten miles and a half in length, six and three-quarters in breadth, and twenty-eight in circumference. The highest part of it is Diana's Peak. From the nearest land (Ascension) it is distant about six hundred miles, and twelve hundred from the nearest continent, the Cape of Good Hope. Jamestown, the only one in the island, is situated in the bottom of a deep wedgelike ravine, flanked on each side by barren and tremendous overhanging precipices. The one on the left from the sea is called Rupert's Hill, and that on the right, Ladder Hill. There is a steep and narrow road, called the side path, cut along the former, and a good zigzag road leads along the latter to the country seat of the Governor. Opposite to the

town is James's Bay, the principal anchorage, where the largest ships lie perfectly secure, as the wind never varies more than two or three points, and is always off the land and favorable for sailing. The town consists of a small street along the beach, called the Marina, and the main street, commencing from this and extending in a right line to a distance of about three hundred yards, where it branches off into two lesser ones. There are about one hundred and sixty houses, chiefly built of stone, cemented with mud, lime being scarce on the island. There is a church, a botanical garden, a hospital, a tavern, and barracks. On the left from the beach stands the castle, the town residence of the Governor.

The following is an interview which took place between the Emperor and Sir Hudson Lowe a short time previous to Sir Hudson's arrival at St. Helena, and it will show the antagonism which he immediately created and which was continued throughout the Emperor's captivity. It is unquestioned that he was in all respects almost unbearable. He could have, at least, made the Emperor's life somewhat agreeable, but he chose the other course.

Sir Hudson Lowe. Las Cases.

"On hearing of your arrival, I congratulated myself in the hope of meeting with a general who, having spent some portion of his life on the Con-

tinent, and having taken part in important public affairs, would know how to act in a becoming way to me; but I was grossly deceived." The Governor here said that, as a soldier, his conduct had been conformable with the interests and forms of his country. On which the Emperor replied: "Your country, your government, and yourself will be overwhelmed with disgrace for your conduct to me; and this disgrace will extend to your posterity. Was there ever an act of more refined cruelty than yours, sir, when, a few days ago, you invited me to your table by the title of General Bonaparte, with the view of rendering me an object of ridicule or amusement to your guests? Would you have proportioned the extent of your respect to the title you were pleased to give me? I am not General Bonaparte to you. It is not for you or anyone in the world to deprive me of dignities which are fairly my own. If Lady Loudon had been within my boundaries, I should have undoubtedly have visited her, because I do not stand upon strict etiquette with a woman; but I should nevertheless have considered that I was conferring an honor upon her. I have been told you propose that some of the officers of your staff should accompany me in my rides about the island, instead of the officer established at Longwood. Sir, when soldiers have been christened by the fire of the battle-field, they

Napoleon and Sir Hudson Lowe. Las Cases.

have all one rank in my eyes. It is not the sight of any particular uniform that offends me here, but the obligation of seeing soldiers at all; since this must be regarded as a tacit concession of the point which I dispute. I am not a prisoner of war; and I cannot therefore submit to the regulations required in such a situation. I am placed in your power only by the most horrible breach of confidence."

The same, continued.

One day after dinner the Emperor, conversing on our situation and the conduct of the Governor, who came to-day and took a rapid circuit round Longwood, reverted to the subject of the last interview they had had together, and made some striking observations respecting it. "I behaved ill to him, no doubt," said he, "and nothing but my present situation could excuse me; but I was out of humor, and could not help it; I should blush for it in any other situation. Had such a scene taken place at the Tuileries, I should have felt myself bound in conscience to make some atonement. Never during the period of my power, did I speak harshly to anyone without afterwards saying something to make amends for it. But here I uttered not a syllable of conciliation, and I had no wish to do so."

"Few facts connected with the captivity of Napoleon have excited more sympathy than the sale

by him of his plate. As the case has been generally represented, it did seem a pitiable thing that he should have been reduced to the necessity of parting with his silver plate in order to keep himself and his followers from starvation at St. Helena. And if any necessity for the sale existed, it must have inflicted indelible reproach on the British Government . . . But was there such a necessity? . . . That the plate was sent from Longwood for sale is indisputable; but the alleged cause is a fiction, and the whole affair was a manœuvre of Napoleon to create false sympathy for himself and draw public odium on Sir Hudson Lowe . . . O'Meara himself shall reveal the truth . . . In a private letter to his friend, Mr. Finlaison, after mentioning that the French at Longwood daily spent more than the government allowance, to meet which outlay Napoleon had caused some of his plate to be broken up, he adds: 'In this he has also a wish to excite an odium against the Governor, by saying that he has been obliged to sell his plate in order to provide against starvation, as he himself told me was his object.'"—Forsyth's "Lowe," vol. i., pp. 288-289.

Napoleon sells his plate. O'Meara.

September 19th.—A large portion of Napoleon's plate broken up, the imperial arms and the eagles cut out and put by, Count Montholon applied to

Captain Poppleton for an officer to accompany him to Jamestown, for the purpose of disposing of the plate, with which the latter acquainted the Governor forthwith by an orderly. Received back an order to acquaint Count Montholon "that the money produced by the sale of the silver should not be paid to him, but be deposited in the hands of Mr. Balcombe, the purveyor, for the use of General Bonaparte."

More of Sir Hudson Lowe. O'Meara.

Count Montholon repeated to Napoleon what Sir Hudson Lowe had desired him on the 23d. He replied: "I expect nothing from the present Ministry but ill-treatment. The more they want to lessen me, the more I will exalt myself. It was my intention to have assumed the name of Colonel Muiron, who was killed by my side at Arcola, covering me with his body, and to have lived as a private person in England, in some part of the country, without ever desiring to mix in the grand world. I would never have gone to London, nor have dined out. Probably I should have seen very few persons. Perhaps I might have formed a friendship with some *savans*. I should have ridden out every day, and then returned to my books."

Said Napoleon: "I understand Sir Hudson Lowe said that he proposed an officer should enter my chamber to see me if I did not stir out. Any

person," continued he, with much emotion, "who endeavors to force his way into my apartment shall be a corpse the moment he enters it. If he ever eats bread or meat again, I am not Napoleon. This I am determined on; I know that I shall be killed afterwards, as what can one do against a camp? I have faced death too many times to fear it. Besides I am convinced that this Governor has been sent out by Lord ———. I told him a few days ago that if he wanted to put an end to me, he would have a very good opportunity by sending somebody to force his way into my chamber. That I would immediately make a corpse of the first that entered, and then I should be of course despatched, and that he might write home to his government that 'Bonaparte' was killed in a brawl. I also told him to leave me alone, and not to torment me with his hateful presence. I have seen Prussians, Tartars, Cossacks, Kalmucks, etc., but never before in my life have I beheld so ill-favored and so forbidding a countenance."

Napoleon's chamber at St. Helena. O'Meara.

On the morning of the 5th of May Napoleon sent for his surgeon, O'Meara, to come to him. He was introduced into Napoleon's bedchamber, a description of which is thus given: "It was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green

bordering paper, and destitute of skirting. Two small windows, without pulleys, one of which was thrown up and fastened by a piece of notched wood, looked towards the camp of the 53d Regiment. There were window curtains of white long cloth, a small fireplace, a shabby grate and fire-irons to match, with a paltry mantelpiece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantelpiece hung the portrait of Maria Louisa, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hands of his mother. A little more to the right hung also the portrait of the Empress Josephine; and to the left was suspended the alarm chamber watch of Frederick the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam; while on the right the Consular watch, engraved with the cipher B, hung, by a chain of the plaited hair of Maria Louisa, from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. In the right-hand corner was placed the little plain, iron camp bedstead, with green silk curtains, on which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows there was a chest of drawers, and a bookcase with green blinds stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs, painted green, were standing here and there about the room. Before the back door there was a screen

The same, continued.

covered with nankeen, and between that and the fireplace an old-fashioned sofa covered with white long cloth, on which Napoleon reclined, dressed in his white morning gown, white loose trousers and stockings all in one, a checkered red handkerchief upon his head, and his shirt collar open without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table, with some books, at the foot of which lay in confusion upon the carpet a heap of those which he had already perused, and at the opposite side of the sofa was suspended Isabey's portrait of the Empress Maria Louisa, holding her son in her arms.

Napoleon speaks of Wellington. Las Cases.

"I have been told," said he, "that it is through Wellington that I am here; and I believe it. It is conduct well worthy of him, who, in defiance of a solemn capitulation, suffered Ney to perish; Ney, with whom he had so often been engaged on the field of battle! For my own part, it is very certain that I gave him a terrible quarter of an hour. This usually constitutes a claim on noble minds; his was incapable of feeling it. My fall, and the lot that might have been reserved for me, afforded him the opportunity of reaping higher glory than he has gained by all his victories. But he did not understand this. Well, at any rate, he ought to be heartily grateful to old Blücher; had it not been for him, I know not where his Grace might

have been to-day; but I know that I, at least, should not have been at St. Helena.

"Wellington's troops were admirable, but his plans were despicable; or, I should rather say, that he formed none at all. He had placed himself in a situation in which it was impossible he could form any; and, by a curious chance, this very circumstance saved him. If he could have commenced a retreat, he must infallibly have been lost. He certainly remained master of the field of battle; but was his success the result of his skill? He has reaped the fruit of a brilliant victory; but did his genius prepare it for him? His glory is wholly negative. His faults were enormous. He, the European Generalissimo, to whose hands so many interests were intrusted, and having before him an enemy as prompt and daring as myself, left his forces dispersed, and slumbered in a capital until he was surprised. And yet, such is the power of fatality! In the course of three days, I three times saw the destiny of France and of Europe escape my grasp!"

His opinion of Wellington. Las Cases.

One day Napoleon said to Las Cases: "Your orthography is not correct, is it?" This question gave occasion for a sarcastic smile from a person who stood near, who thought it was meant to convey a reproach. The Emperor, who saw this, continued: "At least I suppose it is not, for a man

occupied with important public business, a Minister for instance, cannot and need not attend to orthography. His ideas must flow faster than his hand can trace them, he has only time to dwell upon essentials; he must put words in letters, and phrases in words, and let the scribes make it out afterwards." Napoleon indeed left a great deal for the copyists to do; he was their torment; his handwriting actually resembled hieroglyphics—he often could not decipher it himself. Las Cases's son was one day reading to him a chapter of "The Campaign of Italy"; on a sudden he stopped short, unable to make out the writing. "The little blockhead," said Napoleon, "cannot read his own handwriting." "It is not mine, Sire." "And whose then?" "Your Majesty's." "How so, you little rogue; do you mean to insult me?" The Emperor took the manuscript, tried a long while to read it, and at last threw it down, saying: "He is right; I cannot tell myself what is written." He has often sent the copyists to Las Cases to read what he had himself been unable to decipher.

Anecdote of Napoleon's hand-writing. Bourrienne.

When asked what his opinion was concerning a future state, he replied: "We neither know whence we come, nor whither we shall go; but our minds, if not otherwise employed, naturally turn to our own situation; and the mass of the people ought to have some fixed point of faith, whereon

to rest their thoughts. However, provided a man be a good character, I never trouble myself respecting his mode of worship. I am a Catholic, such having been my father's faith, and because it is the religion of France."

Napoleon on the Christian Religion. O'Meara.

One of Napoleon's generals was one day discussing in his presence the divinity of our Lord. Napoleon remarked: "I know men, General, and I can tell you that Jesus Christ is not a man. Superficial minds see a resemblance between Christ and the founders of Empires, the conquerors and the gods of other religions. The resemblance does not exist; the distance between Christianity and any other religion whatever is infinite.

"Any one who has a true knowledge of things and experience of men will cut short the question as I do. Who amongst us, General, looking at the worship of different nations, is not able to say to the authors of those religions:

"No, you are neither gods nor the agents of the Deity; no, you have no mission from Heaven. You are formed of the same slime as other mortals; your own lives are so entirely one with all the passions and all the vices which are inseparable from humanity, that it has been necessary to deify them with you; your temples and your priests themselves proclaim your origin. Abominations,

fables, and rotten wood; are these religions and gods which can be compared with Christianity?

"I say no.

"In Lycurgus, Numa, Confucius, and Mahomet I see lawgivers, but nothing which reveals the Deity. They did not themselves raise their pretensions so high. They surpassed others in their times, as I have done in mine. There is nothing about them which announces divine beings; on the contrary, I see much likeness between them and myself. I can testify to common resemblances, weaknesses, and errors, which bring them near to me, and to human nature.

Napoleon on the Divinity of Christ. O'Meara.

"It is not so with Christ. Everything in Him amazes me; His mind is beyond me, and His will confounds me. There is no possible term of comparison between Him and anything of this world. He is a Being apart. His birth, His life, His death, the profundity of His doctrine, which reaches the height of difficulty, and which is yet its most admirable solution, the singularity of this mysterious Being, His empire, His course across ages and kingdoms—all is a prodigy, a mystery too deep, too sacred, and which plunges me into reveries from which I can find no escape; a mystery which is here, under my eyes, which I cannot deny, and neither can I explain.

"Here I see nothing of man.

"You speak of Cæsar and of Alexander, of their conquests, and of the enthusiasm which they were able to awaken in the hearts of their soldiers, and thus draw them with them on adventurous expeditions; but this only shows the price of the soldier's affection, the ascendancy of the genius of victory, the natural effect of military discipline, and the result of able commandership. But how many years did the Empire of Cæsar endure? How long was the enthusiasm of the soldiers of Alexander maintained? Their prestige lasted a day, an hour, the time of their command, and followed the chances of war. If victory had deserted them, do you doubt whether the enthusiasm would not immediately have ceased? I ask you, yes or no? Did the military influence of Cæsar and Alexander end with their lives? Was it prolonged beyond the tomb?

The comparison with Cæsar and Alexander. O'Meara.

"Imagine a man making conquests with a faithful army, devoted to his memory—after his death! Imagine a phantom who has soldiers without pay, without hopes for this world, and who inspires them to submit to all kinds of privations. Turenne was still warm when his army broke up before Montecuculi; and as to myself—my armies forgot me whilst I still lived, as the Carthaginian army forgot Hannibal. Such is the power of us great men! A battle lost casts us down and car-

ries away our friends. How many a Judas have I seen around me!

"In short, and this is my last argument, there is not a God in Heaven, if any man could conceive and execute with full success the gigantic design of seizing upon the supreme worship by usurping the name of God. Jesus is the only one who has dared to do this. He is the only one who has said clearly, affirmed imperturbably, Himself of Himself, I am God; which is quite different from the affirmation, I am a God. History mentions no other individual who qualified himself with the title of God, in the absolute sense. How then should a Jew to whose existence there is more testimony than to that of any of His contemporaries, He alone, the son of a carpenter, give Himself out as God Himself, for the Self-existent Being, for the Creator of all beings? He claims every kind of adoration, He builds His worship with His own hands, not with stones, but with men. And how was it that, by a prodigy surpassing all prodigies, He willed the love of men—that which it is most difficult in the world to obtain—and immediately succeeded? From this I conclude His Divinity. Alexander, Cæsar, Hannibal, all failed. They conquered the world, but they were not able to obtain a friend. I am perhaps the only person of the present time who has any love for Hannibal, Cæ-

The same, continued.

sar, or Alexander. It is true we love our children; but how many children are ungrateful! Do your children love you, General? You love them, but you are not sure of a return.

Napoleon moralizes on his own influence. O'Meara.

"I have inspired multitudes to die for me. God forbid that I should form any comparison between the enthusiasm of my soldiers and Christian charity; they are as different as their causes. And then my presence was required; the electricity of my look, my voice, a word from me, then the sacred fire was kindled in all hearts. I certainly possess the secret of that magic power which carries away other people's minds; yet I could never communicate it to others. Not one of my generals ever received it from me, or guessed at it; neither have I the power to eternalize my name and my love in the heart.

"Now that I am at St. Helena—now that I am alone, nailed to this rock, who fights and conquers empires for me? What courtiers have I in my misfortune? Does anyone think of me? Does anyone in Europe move for me? Who has remained faithful? Where are my friends? Yes, you, two or three whose fidelity immortalizes you, share my exile." Here the voice of the Emperor assumed a peculiar tone of melancholy irony and deep sadness. "Yes, our existence has shone with all the brilliancy of the diadem and of sovereignty, and

yours, General, reflected this splendor, as the dome of Les Invalides reflects the rays of the sun. But reverses have come. By degrees the golden hues are effaced, the floods of misfortune and the outrages to which I am every day subjected carry away the last tints. Only the copper remains, General, and soon I shall be dust.

"Such is the destiny of great men; of Cæsar, and of Alexander; we are forgotten, and the name of a conqueror, like that of an emperor, is only the subject of a college theme. Our exploits come under the ferule of a pedant, who either praises or insults us. A few moments and this will be my fate; what will happen to myself? Assassinated by the English oligarchy, I die prematurely, and my body will be returned to the earth to become pasture for worms. This is the destiny, now very near, of the great Napoleon. What a gulf between my misery and the eternal reign of Christ, preached, praised, loved, adored, living in the whole universe. Is this to die? Is it not rather to live? Such is the death of Christ—such the death of God.

The same, continued.

"Before my reign, the oath taken by the French Kings was to exterminate all heretics! At my coronation, I swore to protect religion in every form! Louis has not yet sworn, because he has not been crowned, and in all probability, through

fear of you and of the Prussians, will not take the oath of extermination; not that he has not the will—on the contrary, he would with pleasure both swear and cause it to be effected; for the family of the Bourbons are the most intolerant upon earth."

Napoleon not an Atheist. O'Meara.

O'Meara observed: "Saw Napoleon in his bath. He was reading a little book, which I perceived to be a French New Testament. I could not help observing to him that many people would not believe that he would read such a book, as it had been asserted and credited by some that he was an unbeliever. Napoleon laughed and replied: 'It is not true. I am far from an atheist. In spite of all the iniquities and frauds of the teachers of religion, who are eternally preaching that their kingdom is not of this world, and yet seize everything which they can lay their hands upon, from the time that I became head of the government I did everything in my power to reëstablish religion. But I wished to render it the foundation and prop of morality and good principles, and not *à prendre l'essoir* of the human laws. Man has need of something wonderful. It is better for him to seek it in religion than in Mlle. le Normand. Moreover, religion is a great consolation and resource to those who possess it, and no man can say what he will do in his last moments.'"

Las Cases states that after dinner one evening the conversation turned upon religion. The Emperor dwelt upon the subject at length. The following is a faithful summary of his arguments given as being quite characteristic upon a point which has probably often excited the curiosity of many.

The existence of God. Las Cases.

The Emperor, after having spoken for some time with warmth and animation, said: "Everything proclaims the existence of a God, that cannot be questioned; but all our religions are evidently the work of men. Why are there so many? Why has ours not always existed? Why does it consider itself exclusively the right one? What becomes in that case of all the virtuous men who have gone before us? Why do these religions revile, oppose, exterminate one another? Why has this been the case ever and everywhere? Because men are ever men; because priests have ever and everywhere introduced fraud and falsehood. However, as soon as I had power, I immediately reëstablished religion. I made it the ground work and foundation upon which I built. I considered it as the support of sound principles and good morality, both in doctrine and in practice. Besides, such is the restlessness of man, that his mind requires that something undefined and marvellous which religion offers; and it is better for him to find it

there, than to seek it of Cagliostro, of Mademoiselle le Normand, or of the fortune-tellers and impostors." Somebody having ventured to say to him that he might possibly in the end become devout, the Emperor answered, with an air of conviction, that he feared not, and that it was with regret that he said it; for it was no doubt a great source of consolation; but that his incredulity did not proceed from perverseness or from licentiousness of mind, but from the strength of his reason. "Yet," he added, "no man can answer for what will happen, particularly in his last moments. At present I certainly believe that I shall die without a confessor; and yet there is one (pointing to one of us) who will perhaps receive my confession. I am assuredly very far from being an atheist, but I cannot believe all that I am taught in spite of my reason, without being false and a hypocrite. When I became Emperor, and particularly after my marriage with Maria Louisa, every effort was made to induce me to go with great pomp, according to the custom of the Kings of France, to take the sacrament at the Church of Notre Dame; but this I positively refused to do; I did not believe in the act sufficiently to derive any benefit from it, and yet I believed too much in it to run the risk of committing a profanation." On this occasion a certain person was alluded to, who had boasted,

Napoleon's own belief. Las Cases.

as it were, that he had never taken the sacrament. "That is very wrong," said the Emperor; "either he has not fulfilled the intention of his education, or his education was neglected." Then resuming the subject, he said: "To explain where I come from, what I am, and whither I go, is above my comprehension; and yet all that is. I am like the watch that exists, without possessing the consciousness of existence. However, the sentiment of religion is so consolatory that it must be considered as a gift of Heaven; what a resource would it not be for us here to possess it! What influence could men and events exercise over me, if, bearing my misfortunes as if inflicted by God, I expected to be compensated by him with happiness hereafter! What rewards have I not a right to expect who have run a career so extraordinary, so tempestuous, without committing a single crime, and yet how many might I not have been guilty of? I can appear before the tribunal of God, I can await His judgment without fear. He will not find my conscience stained with the thoughts of murder and poisonings, with the infliction of violent and premeditated death, events so common in the history of those whose lives have resembled mine. I have striven only for the glory, the power, the greatness of France. All my faculties, all my efforts, all my moments, were directed to the attain-

The same, continued.

ment of that object. These cannot be crimes; to me they appeared acts of virtue. What then would be my happiness, if the bright prospect of futurity presented itself to crown the last moments of my existence!"

Napoleon's own belief, continued.

After a pause he resumed. "How is it possible that conviction can find its way to our hearts, when we hear the absurd language, and witness the acts of iniquity, of the greatest number of those whose business it is to preach to us? I am surrounded by priests, who repeat incessantly that their reign is not of this world, and yet they lay their hands upon everything that they can get. The Pope is the head of that religion from Heaven, and he thinks only of this world. What did the present Chief Pontiff, who is undoubtedly a good and a holy man, not offer to be allowed to return to Rome! The surrender of the government of the Church, of the institution of bishops, was not too high a price for him to give, to become once more a secular prince. Even now, he is the friend of all the Protestants, who grant him everything, because they do not fear him. He is only the enemy of Catholic Austria because her territory surrounds his own."

Napoleon said: "There is a link between animals and the Deity. Man is merely a more perfect animal than the rest. He reasons better. But

how do we know that animals have not a language of their own? My opinion is, that it is presumption in us to say no, because we do not understand them. A horse has memory, knowledge, and love. He knows his master from the servants, though the latter are more constantly with him. I had a horse myself, who knew me from any other person, and manifested by capering and proudly marching with head erect, when I was on his back, his knowledge that he bore a person superior to the others by whom he was surrounded. Neither would he allow any other person to mount him, except one groom, who constantly took care of him, and when ridden by him, his motions were far different, and such as seemed to say that he was conscious he bore an inferior. When I lost my way, I was accustomed to throw the reins on his neck, and he always discovered it in places where I, with all my observation and boasted superior knowledge, could not. Who again can deny the sagacity of dogs? There is a link between all animals. Plants are so many animals who eat and drink, and there are gradations up to man, who is only the most perfect of them all.

Napoleon on animals. O'Meara.

"Many times in my life," said Napoleon, "have I been saved by soldiers and officers throwing themselves before me when I was in the most imminent danger. At Arcola, when I was advanc-

ing, Colonel Muiron, my aide-de-camp, threw himself before me, covered me with his body, and received the wound which was destined for me. He fell at my feet, and his blood spurted up in my face. He gave his life to preserve mine. Never yet, I believe, has there been such devotion shown by soldiers as mine have manifested for me."

Napoleon on friendship. O'Meara.

One of Bonaparte's misfortunes was that he neither believed in friendship nor felt the necessity of loving. How often have I heard him say: "Friendship is but a name; I love nobody; I do not even love my brothers. Perhaps Joseph a little, from habit, and because he is my elder. And Duroc, I love him too, but why? Because his character pleases me. He is stern and resolute, and I really believe the fellow never shed a tear. For my part, I know very well that I have no true friends. . . . Leave sensibility to women; it is their business. But men should be firm in heart and in purpose, or they should have nothing to do with war or government.

"Masséna," said Napoleon, "was a man of superior talent. He generally, however, made bad dispositions previous to a battle; and it was not until the dead fell around him that he began to act with that judgment which he ought to have displayed before. In the midst of the dying and the dead, of balls sweeping away those who en-

circled him, then Masséna was himself—gave his orders and made his dispositions with the greatest sangfroid and judgment. This is *la vera noblitia di sangue.* It was truly said of Masséna that he never began to act with judgment until the battle was going against him. He was, however, *un volcur.* He went halves along with the contractors and commissaries of the army. I signified to him often, that if he would discontinue his peculations I would make him a present of eight hundred thousand or a million of francs; but he had acquired such a habit that he could not keep his hands from the money. On this account he was hated by the soldiers, who mutinied against him three or four times. However, considering the circumstances of the times, he was precious; and had not his bright parts been soiled with the vice of avarice, he would have been a great man."

Napoleon on Masséna. O'Meara.

Meneval says of the night work of the Emperor: "I would find him in his white dressing gown, with a Madras handkerchief on his head, walking up and down in his cabinet, with his hands crossed behind his back, or else dipping in his snuff-box, less from liking than from peroccupation, for he only smelt the snuff, and his handkerchiefs of white cambric were not soiled by it. His ideas developed under his dictation with an abundance and a clearness that showed his attention was

Napoleon's night work. Meneval.

closely fixed upon the object of his work. When the work was ended, and sometimes in the middle of it, he had ices or sherbet brought. He asked me which I preferred, and his care went so far as to advise me which he thought best for my health. After this he returned to bed, if it were only for an hour, and fell asleep again as if he had not been interrupted. When the Emperor rose in the night, he forbade my being awakened before seven o'clock in the morning. Then I found my desk covered with reports and papers annotated by him."

The affair of the Duc d'Engh en. O'Meara.

I asked Napoleon if it were true that Talleyrand had detained a letter written by the Duc d'Enghien to him until two days after the Duke's execution? Napoleon's reply was: "It is true; the Duke had written a letter, offering his services, and asking a command in the army from me, which Talleyrand did not make known until two days after his execution." I observed that Talleyrand, by his culpable concealment of the letter, was virtually guilty of the death of the Duke. "I," replied Napoleon, "caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested in consequence of the Bourbons having landed assassins in France to murder me. I was resolved to let them see that the blood of one of their Princes should pay for their attempts, and he was accordingly tried for

having borne arms against the Republic, found guilty, and shot, according to the existing laws against such a crime."

"Talleyrand," said Napoleon to Las Cases, "was always in a state of treason; but it was complicity with fortune. His circumspection was extreme, conducting himself with his friends as if they were his enemies; and with his enemies as if they might become his friends. In the affair of the divorce, he was for the Empress Josephine. It was he who hastened on the war with Spain, although in public he had the art to appear opposed to it. Finally," continued Napoleon, "it was he who was the active cause, and the principal instrument, in the death of the Duc d'Enghien."

On Talleyrand. Las Cases.

Napoleon was not cruel, as his whole life shows; but he had determined to strike down conspirators; he was inexorable when he had made up his mind, and he resolved to sacrifice the Duc d'Enghien in order to teach Bourbon plotters a lesson. He did not scruple, with this end in view, to bring the Prince within the scope of a charge, far-fetched and nearly obsolete, if technically correct, but from which there was no possible escape; to hand him over to a tribunal, which, he well knew, would be bound by no law and would show no mercy; and to do his prisoner to death for reasons of state. This, indeed, is Napoleon's account of the

The object of the execution.

matter, recorded in his will in his last moments: "I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and convicted, because this was necessary for the security, the interests, and the honor of the French people, at a time when the Comte d'Artois, by his own admission, supported sixty assassins in Paris. In similar circumstances I would act in the same way again."

Napoleon's reasons. O'Meara.

While the Duc d'Enghien was on his trial, Madame la Maréchale Bessières said to Colonel Ordener, who had arrested him: "Are there no possible means to save that *malheureux?* Has his guilt been established beyond a doubt?" "Madame," replied Colonel Ordener, "I found in his house sacks of papers sufficient to compromise half of France." The Duke was executed in the morning, and not by torchlight as has been represented.

Of his two would-be assassins, Cérachi and the fanatic of Schönbrunn, Napoleon said: "Cérachi adored the Consul once, till he said he could see nothing in him but the tyrant. He was assisted by a captain of the line, sought admission for the purpose of altering a bust of me, and intended to stab me when I was posed. This officer of the line disliked me as Consul, but adored me as General. He wished my post to be taken from me, but he

The would-be assassin of Napoleon.

would have grieved sincerely if they had taken my life. 'They must seize me,' said he, 'not do me any harm, and send me to the army to go on beating the enemy, and to make the glory of France.'" When he saw the poignards distributed, he was afraid, and revealed the whole to the Consul.

"The fanatic of Schönbrunn," said the Emperor, "was a son of a Protestant minister of Erfurt. He was trying to force his way through the soldiers that surrounded me (it was at grand parade), when General Rapp, placing his hand on his chest to put him back, felt something underneath his coat. It was a two-edged knife, a foot and a half long."

The fanatic of Schönbrunn.

Napoleon had the assassin brought to his cabinet; called Corvisart, and told him to feel the man's pulse whilst he talked to him. The assassin preserved his composure, openly avowed his intention, and frequently quoted scripture.

"What did you want with me?" said the Emperor.

"To kill you."

"What have I done to you? Who has made you my judge?"

"I wished to put an end to the war."

"And why did you not address yourself to the Emperor Francis?"

"What good would that be? He is nobody! And then when he dies another will succeed him; whereas, after you the French would immediately disappear from Germany."

The Emperor sought in vain to move him.

Napoleon's interview with him.

"Do you repent?" he asked him.

"No."

"Would you do it again?"

"Yes."

"But if I pardoned you?"

"Here," says Napoleon, "nature for an instant resumed her sway, the face and voice of the man altered."

"Then," said he, "I should believe that it was not God's will."

"But he soon recovered his ferocity," continues Napoleon. "We made him fast for twenty-four hours; the doctor examined him again; we questioned him anew. All was useless; he remained the same man, or rather ferocious beast, and we left him to his fate."

Napoleon on America. Las Cases.

"America," said Napoleon, "was in all respects our proper asylum. It is an immense continent, possessing the advantages of a peculiar system of freedom. If a man is troubled with melancholy, he may get into a coach and drive a thousand leagues, enjoying all the way the pleasure of a common traveller. In America you may be on

a footing of equality with every one; you may, if you please, mingle with the crowd, without inconvenience, retaining your own manners, your own language, your own religion, etc."

The Emperor was the first individual in France who said: "Agriculture, first; industry, that is to say, manufactures, next; and, finally, trade, which must arise out of the superabundance of the two first." He also defined and put into practice, in a clear and connected way, the systems most conducive to the interests of our manufacturers and merchants. To him we were indebted for the cultivation of sugar, indigo, and cotton. He offered a reward of a million francs to the person who should discover a method of spinning flax like cotton; and he doubted not that this discovery would have been made. The fatality of circumstances alone prevented this grand idea from being carried into execution.

Napoleon's efforts for agriculture. Las Cases.

Napoleon said: "In Cardinal Richelieu's time, a nobleman who waited upon him to ask some favor was ushered into his private cabinet. While they were conversing a greater personage entered the room. After some conversation with Richelieu, the great man took his leave, and the Cardinal, in compliment to him, attended him to his carriage, forgetting that he had left the other alone in his cabinet. On his return he rang a bell,

and one of his confidential secretaries entered, to whom he whispered something. He then conversed with the other very freely, appeared to take an interest in his affairs, accompanied him to the door, shook hands, and took leave in the most friendly way, telling him that he might make his mind easy, as he had determined to provide for him. The poor man departed, highly satisfied and full of gratitude. As he was going out of the door, he was arrested, not allowed to speak to any person, and conveyed in a coach to the Bastille, where he was kept *au secret* for ten years; at the expiration of which time the Cardinal sent for him, and expressed great regret at having been obliged to adopt the step he had taken; that he had no cause of complaint against him; on the contrary, that he believed him to be a good subject of his Majesty; but the fact was, he had left a paper on the table when he quitted the room containing State secrets of vast importance, which he was afraid he might have perused in his absence; that the safety of the kingdom obliged him to adopt measures to prevent the possibility of its contents being known. That as soon as the safety of the country permitted, he had released him; he begged his pardon for the uneasiness he had caused him, and would be happy to make him some amends."

Napoleon's anecdote of Richelieu. O'Meara.

Turning one day to Count Las Cases, Napoleon observed: "What a rising generation I leave behind me; this is all my work. The merits of the French youth will be a sufficient revenge to me. On beholding the toil, all must render justice to the workman; and the perverted judgment or bad faith of disclaimers must fall before my deeds. If I had thought only of myself, and securing my own power, as has been continually asserted, I should have endeavored to hide learning under a bushel; instead of which, I devoted myself to the propagation of knowledge. And yet the youth of France have not enjoyed all the benefits I intended they should. My university, according to the plan I had conceived, was a masterpiece in its combinations, and would have been such in its national results. But an evil-disposed person spoiled all, and, in so doing, he was actuated by the worst of feelings, and doubtless by a calculation of consequences.

Napoleon on French youth. Las Cases.

"But, since we are on this subject, let me tell you that a man, he who has the true feelings of a man, never cherishes hatred. His anger or ill-humor never goes beyond the irritation of the moment—the electric shock. He who is formed to discharge high duties, and to exercise authority, never considers persons; his views are directed to things, their weight and consequences."

On a certain occasion, it was observed to the Emperor that he was not fond of putting forward his own merits. "That is," replied he, "because with me morality and generosity are not in my mouth, but in my nerves. My iron hand was not at the extremity of my arm, it was immediately connected with my head. I did not receive it from nature; calculation alone has enabled me to employ it."

One day, when the Emperor was reproaching a person for not correcting the vices which he knew he possessed: "Sir," said he, "when a man knows his moral infirmity, he may cure his mind, just as he would cure his arm or his leg."

Napoleon on the army in Egypt. Las Cases.

He spoke with apparent pleasure of Egypt, and described, humorously enough, his admission and that of his army to Mahometanism, on receiving from the men of law, after many meetings and grave discussions at Cairo, a dispensation from being circumcised, and permission to drink wine, under promise of performing a good action after each draught. "You can hardly imagine," said he, "the advantages I acquired in the country from adopting their cult." I mentioned Sir Robert Wilson's statement of his having poisoned his sick; he answered: "Three or four men of the army had the plague; they could not have lived twenty-four hours; I was about to march; I con-

sulted Desgenettes as to the means of removing them; he said that it must be attended with some risk of infection, and would be useless to them, as they were past recovery. I then recommended him to give them a dose of opium, rather than to leave them to the mercy of the Turks. To which he replied, like an honest man, that his profession was to cure and not to kill; and the men were left to their fate. Perhaps he was right, though I requested for them what I should under similar circumstances, have wished my best friend to have done for myself. I have often thought since on that point of morals, and have conversed upon it with others, and I believe, the point being thoroughly considered, that it is better to let a man terminate his destiny, be it whatsoever it may. I judged so afterwards, in the case of my friend Duroc, who, when his bowels were falling out before my eyes, repeatedly cried to me to have him put out of his misery. I told him that I commiserated his fate, but that there was no remedy; we must endure with patience to the end." I then asked him about the massacre of the Turks at Jaffa. He replied: "It is very true—I caused about two thousand to be shot. You deem that rather cruel—but I had granted them a capitulation at El Arish, on condition that they should return home. They broke that solemn engage-

The same, continued.

ment, and threw themselves into Jaffa, which I took by assault. I could not lead them away prisoners, for I was destitute of bread, and the devils were too dangerous to be let loose a second time; I had, therefore, no other choice left but to kill them."

The following is a soliloquy of the Emperor's on an old slave in St. Helena. It is decidedly like the soliloquy of Hamlet in the graveyard or, more properly speaking, Hamlet's soliloquy on Yorrick. It goes to prove what a remarkable thinker and observer this man was. There was nothing too small for his observation; his mind was constantly occupied with the smallest things in life. The terror of such an incarceration as he was submitted to, namely, that of imprisonment at St. Helena, can be more readily appreciated when one thinks of the activity of such a mind.

Napoleon's soliloquy on an old slave. Las Cases.

"What, after all, is this poor human machine? There is not one whose exterior form is like another, or whose internal organization resembles the rest! And it is by disregarding this truth that we are led to the commission of so many errors! Had Toby been a Brutus he would have put himself to death; if an Æsop, he would now, perhaps, have been the Governor's adviser; if an ardent and zealous Christian, he would have borne his chains in the sight of God, and blessed them. As

for poor Toby, he endures his misfortunes very quietly; he stoops to his work, and spends his days in innocent tranquillity." Then, after looking at him for a few moments in silence, he turned away and said: "Certainly it is a great step from poor Toby to a King Richard! And yet," continued he, as he walked along, "the crime is not the less atrocious; for this man, after all, had his family, his happiness, and his liberty; and it was a horrible act of cruelty to bring him here to languish in the fetters of slavery." Then, suddenly stopping short, he added: "But I read in your eyes that you think he is not the only example of the sort at St. Helena!" And whether he felt offended at being placed on a parallel with Toby, whether he thought it necessary to raise my spirits, or whatever else might be his reason, he went on with dignity and animation: "My dear Las Cases, there is not the least resemblance here; if the outrage is of a higher class, the victims also possess very different resources. We have not been exposed to corporeal sufferings; or if that had been attempted we have souls to disappoint our tyrants! Our situation may even have its charms! The eyes of the universe are fixed upon us! We are martyrs in an immortal cause! Millions of human beings are weeping for us; our country sighs, and glory mourns our fate! We are here struggling

The soliloquy, continued.

against the oppression of the gods, and the prayers of nations are for us!" After a pause of a few seconds, he continued: "Besides, this is not the source of my real sufferings! If I considered only myself, perhaps I should have reason to rejoice! Misfortunes are not without their heroism and their glory! Adversity was wanting to my career! Had I died on the throne, enveloped in the dense atmosphere of my power, I should to many have remained a problem; but now misfortune will enable all to judge of me without disguise."

Napoleon on doctors. O'Meara.

Napoleon began to rally O'Meara about his profession. "You medical people," said he, "will have more lives to answer for in the other world than even we generals. What will you say for yourself," asked he laughing, "when you are called to account for all the souls of poor sailors you have despatched to the other world? or what will your Saint say for you when the accusing angel proclaims: 'Such a number you sent out of the world, by giving them heating medicines when you ought to have given cooling ones, and *vice versa?* So many more, because you mistook their complaints and bled them too much; others because you did not bleed them enough; numbers because they were poor people, and you did not pay them as much attention as you would have done to the captain or the admiral, and because

you were over your bottle, or at the theatre, or with a fine girl, and did not like to be disturbed, or after drink (in English), when you went and distributed medicines haphazard? How many because you were not present at the time a change in the complaint took place, when a medicine given at the moment might have saved them? How many others because the provisions were bad, and you would not complain through fear of offending the *fournisseurs?*"

I replied by observing that on the score of conscience I was perfectly easy in my mind; that human nature was liable to err; that very likely I had made mistakes, but not intentional ones; nor had I ever paid less attention to the common people than to the officers; and endeavored as much as possible, as I perceived that he was half in earnest, to uphold the honor of my profession. I also explained to him that in our service the surgeons could gain nothing by not complaining of the *fournisseurs*, etc. Napoleon answered that certainly a man ought always to be judged by his intentions; but that there were abuses in all departments which were principally kept up by the people being either interested or afraid to complain; that he had endeavored to eradicate them as much as possible, in which he had effected much, but had not been able perfectly to succeed. "My

Discussion with O'Meara.

opinion," continued he, "is, that when physicians despatch a number of souls to the other world through ignorance, mistake, or not having properly studied their complaints, they are just as cool and as little concerned as a general with whom I am acquainted, who lost three thousand men in storming a hill. Having succeeded, after several desperate attempts, he observed with great sang-froid: 'Oh, it was not this hill I wanted to take; it was another; that is of no use,' and returned to his former position."

The discussion, continued.

I remarked that it seemed as if he thought physicians as bad and as ignorant as they are described in Molière or Gil Blas. He laughed and said: "I believe that there are a great many of Molière's physicians. Of surgery I have quite a different opinion, as there you do not work in the dark. There your senses guide and assist you. You recollect of having heard of Siéyès?" I replied in the affirmative. "Siéyès," continued he, "before the Revolution, was almoner to one of the Princesses. One day when he was performing mass in the chapel before herself, her attendants, and a large congregation, something occurred which made the Princess get up and retire. Her example was followed by her ladies-in-waiting, and by the whole of the nobility, officers, and others, who attended more out of complaisance to her than

any true sense of religion. Siéyès was very busy reading his breviary, and for some time did not perceive it. Raising his eyes, however, from his book, lo! he observed that the Princess, nobles, and all others *comme il faut* had disappeared. With an air of displeasure and contempt he shut the book, hastily descended from the pulpit, exclaiming: 'I do not say mass for the *canaille!*' and went out of the chapel, leaving the service half finished. Now," said he, laughing very heartily, "many of you physicians would leave a patient half cured because he was one of the *canaille.*"

"Ah! *la morgue dristocratique, la rage aristocratique;*" exclaimed Napoleon. "Why, in my campaigns, I used to go to the lines in the bivouacs, sit down with the meanest soldier, converse, laugh, and joke with him. I always prided myself on being the man of the people."

Napoleon on fatalism. O'Meara.

"Are you a fatalist?" said Napoleon to O'Meara. I replied: "In action I am." "Why not everywhere else?" said the Emperor. I said that I believed a man's dissolution, in certain cases, to be inevitable if he did not endeavor, by the means placed in his power, to prevent his fate. For example, I said that if a man in battle saw a cannon-shot coming towards him, as sometimes happened, he would naturally step to one side, and thereby avoid an otherwise inevitable death;

which comparison I thought would hold good with certain complaints, by considering the ball to be the disease, and stepping aside the remedy.

Napoleon replied: "Perhaps by stepping to one side, you may throw yourself in the way of another ball."

Napoleon said: "Many were of the opinion that I ought to have fought to the last. Others said that fortune had abandoned me—that Waterloo had closed my career of arms forever. My own opinion is, that I ought to have died at Waterloo; perhaps a little earlier. The smiles of fortune were at an end. I experienced little but reverses afterwards; hitherto I had been unconquered. I ought to have died at Waterloo. But the misfortune is, that when a man seeks death most, he cannot find it. Men were killed around me, before, behind, everywhere, but there was no bullet for me."

Sayings of Napoleon. O'Meara.

Napoleon said: "To give you an instance of the general feeling in France towards the Bourbons, I will relate to you an anecdote. On my return from Italy, while my carriage was ascending the steep hill of Tarare, I got out and walked up, without any attendants, as was often my custom. My wife and my suite were at a little distance behind me. I saw an old woman, lame, and hobbling about with the help of a crutch, endeavoring to

ascend the mountain. I had a great coat on and was not recognized. I went up to her and said: 'Well, *ma bonne*, where are you going with a haste which so little belongs to your years? What is the matter?' '*Ma foi*,' replied the old dame, 'they tell me the Emperor is here, and I want to see him before I die.' 'Bah, bah!' said I, 'what do you want to see him for? What have you gained by him? He is a tyrant as well as the others. You have only changed one tyrant for another—Louis for Napoleon.' '*Mais, monsieur*, that may be; but, after all, he is the King of the people, and the Bourbons were the Kings of the nobles. We have chosen him, and if we are to have a tyrant, let him be one chosen by ourselves.' There," said he, "you have the sentiments of the French nation expressed by an old woman."

Napoleon's anecdote on Bourbons. O'Meara.

"These Bourbons are the most timorous race imaginable," said Napoleon; "frighten them, and you may obtain anything. While I was at Elba, an actress named Mademoiselle Raucourt died. She was greatly beloved by the public, and an immense concourse of people went to her funeral. When they arrived at the Church of St. Roch to have the funeral service performed over the corpse, they found the doors shut, and admittance was refused to it. Nor would they allow it to be buried in consecrated ground, for by the old regula-

tions of the priests people of her profession were excluded from Christian burial. The populace broke open the doors with sledges, and perceiving that there was no priest to perform the funeral service, they became clamorous, their rage knew no bounds. They cried: '*Au château, au château des Tuileries!* What right have these priests to refuse interment to a Christian corpse?' Their fury was heightened still more by learning that the very *coquin*, the curé of St. Roch, who had refused Christian burial to the corpse of Mademoiselle Raucourt, had been in the constant habit of receiving presents from her, both for himself and for the poor, and had dined and supped with her repeatedly. Moreover that he had actually administered the sacrament to her a few days before her demise. The populace cried out: 'Here is a *canaille* of a priest, who administers the sacrament to a woman, and afterwards denies her body Christian burial! If she was worthy of the sacrament, she surely is worthy of burial. He receives her benefactions, eats her dinners, and refuses her body interment!'"

Anecdote of Mlle. Raucourt. O'Meara.

Some one having observed that, if Heaven had allowed the Emperor to reign sixty years, as it had Louis XIV., he would have left many grand monuments: "Had Heaven but granted me twenty years, and a little more leisure," resumed the Em-

peror with vivacity, "ancient Paris would have been sought for in vain; not a trace of it would have been left, and I should have changed the face of France. Archimedes promised to do anything, provided he had a resting-place for his lever; I should have done as much, wherever I could have found a point of support for my energy, my perseverance, and my budgets; a world might be created with budgets. I should have displayed the difference between a constitutional Emperor and a King of France. The Kings of France have never possessed any administrative or municipal institution. They have merely shown themselves great lords who were ruined by their men of business.

More opinion on the Bourbons. Las Cases.

"One must have gone through as much as I have, in order to be acquainted with all the difficulty of doing good. If the business related to chimneys, partitions, and furniture for some individuals in the imperial palaces, the work was quickly accomplished; but if it was necessary to lengthen the garden of the Tuileries, to render some quarters wholesome, to cleanse some sewers, and to perform a task beneficial to the public, in which particular persons had no direct interest, I found it requisite to exert all the energy of my character, to write six, ten letters a day, and to get into a downright passion. It was in this way

that I laid out as much as thirty millions in sewers, for which nobody will ever thank me. I pulled down a property worth seventeen millions in houses in front of the Tuileries, for the purpose of forming the Carousel, and throwing open the Louvre. What I did is immense; what I had resolved to do and what I had projected was much more so."

Napoleon's achievements in his own words. Las Cases.

A person then remarked that the Emperor's labors had not been limited either to Paris or to France, but that almost every city in Italy exhibited traces of his creative powers. Wherever one travelled, at the foot as well as on the top of the Alps, in the sands of Holland, on the banks of the Rhine, Napoleon, always Napoleon, was to be seen.

"You wish to know the treasures of Napoleon? They are immense, it is true, but they are all exposed to light. They are: The noble harbors of Antwerp and Flushing, which are capable of containing the largest fleets, and of protecting them against the ice from the sea—the hydraulic works at Dunkirk, Havre, and Nice—the immense harbor of Cherbourg—the maritime works at Venice—the beautiful roads from Antwerp to Amsterdam; from Mentz to Metz; from Bordeaux to Bayonne—the passes of the Simplon, of Mont Cenis, of Mont Genèvre, of La Corniche, which open a communi-

cation through the Alps in four different directions; and which exceed in grandeur, in boldness, and in skill of execution, all the works of the Romans; in these alone you will find eight hundred millions—the roads from the Pyrenees to the Alps, from Parma to Spezzia, from Savona to Piedmont—the bridges of Jena, Austerlitz, the Arts, Sèvres, Tours, Rouanne, Lyons, Turin, of the Isère, of the Durance, of Bordeaux, of Rouen, etc. —the canal which connects the Rhine with the Rhone by the Doubs, and thus unites the North Sea with the Mediterranean; the canal which connects the Scheldt with the Somme, and thus joins Paris and Amsterdam; the canal which unites the Rance with the Vilaine; the canal of Arles, that of Pavia, and the canal of the Rhine—the draining of the marshes of Burgoing, of the Cotentin, of Rochefort—the rebuilding of the greater number of the churches destroyed during the Revolution—the building of others—the institution of numerous establishments of industry for the suppression of mendacity—the works at the Louvre—the construction of public warehouses, of the Bank, of the canal of the Ourcq—the distribution of water in the city of Paris—the numerous sewers, the quays, the embellishments, and the monuments of that large capital—the works for the embellishment of Rome—the reëstablishment of

The same, continued.

the manufactures of Lyons—the creation of many hundreds of cotton manufactories for spinning and for weaving, which employ several millions of hands—funds accumulated to establish upwards of 400 manufactories of sugar from beet-root, for the consumption of part of France, and which would have furnished sugar at the same price as the West Indies if they had continued to receive encouragement for only four years longer—the substitution of woad for indigo, which would have been at last brought to equal in quality, and not to exceed in price, the indigo from the colonies—numerous manufactories for all kinds of objects of art, etc.—fifty millions expended in repairing and beautifying the palaces belonging to the Crown—sixty millions in furniture for the palaces belonging to the Crown in France and in Holland, at Turin and at Rome—sixty millions in diamonds for the Crown, all purchased with Napoleon's money—the Regent (the only diamond that was left belonging to the former diamonds of the Crown) withdrawn from the hands of the Jews at Berlin, with whom it had been pledged for three millions—the Napoleon Museum, valued at upwards of four hundred millions, filled with objects legitimately acquired, either by money or treaties of peace known to the whole world, by virtue of which the masterpieces it contains were given in

Napoleon's achievements, continued.

lieu of territory or of contributions—several millions amassed for the encouragement of agriculture, which is the paramount consideration for the interest of France—the introduction into France of Merino sheep, etc.—these form a treasure of several thousand millions, which will endure for ages! these are the monuments that will confute calumny!".

More of Napoleon's Sayings.

Some one asserted to Napoleon that fortune is always on the side of the largest battalions. "Nothing of the kind," he replied, "Providence is always on the side of the last reserve."

Napoleon expressed himself surprised at the contrast between the character of the mind and the expression of the countenance, which was observable in some individuals. "This proves," said he, "that we must not judge of a man by his face; we can know him only by his conduct. What countenances have I had to judge of in the course of my life! What odd samples of physiogomy have come under my observation! And what rash opinions have I heard on this subject! Thus I invariably made it a rule never to be influenced either by features or by words. Still, however, it must be confessed that we sometimes find curious resemblances between the countenance and the character. For instance, on looking at the face of our *Monseigneur* (meaning the Governor), who

would not recognize the features of a tiger cat! I will mention another instance. There was a man in my service, who was employed about my person. I liked him very much, but I was obliged to dismiss him because I several times caught him with his hands in my pockets. He committed his thefts too impudently. Let anyone look at this man, and they must admit that he has a magpie's eye."

On female education.

In the course of a conversation with Madame Campan (instructress to many of the great ladies and manageress of a young ladies' seminary) Napoleon remarked: "The old system of instruction seems to be worth nothing. What is not wanting in order that the people should be properly educated?" "Mothers!" replied Madame. The reply struck the Emperor forcibly. "Yes," said he, "here is a system of education in one word. By it you agree, then, to train up mothers who shall know how to educate their children."

On his marriages.

"I have," said Napoleon, "been twice married. Political motives induced me to divorce my first wife, whom I loved tenderly. She, poor woman, fortunately for herself, died in time to prevent her witnessing the last of my misfortunes. Let Maria Louisa be asked with what tenderness and affection I always treated her. After her forcible separation from me she avowed, in the most feeling

terms, to her ardent desire to join me, extolled with many tears both myself and my conduct to her, and bitterly lamented her cruel separation, avowing her ardent desire to join me in my exile. Is this the result of the conduct of a merciless, unfeeling tyrant? A man is known by his conduct to his wife, to his family, and to those under him."

Napoleon treats his slanderers with just scorn; dwells with proper emphasis on all that he did to promote the grandeur and welfare of France; claims truly that he had always identified his own interests with those of the nation, at least as he understood these, and argued that, up to 1814, certainly France sanctioned his career of war and conquest. He contends also, with much truth, that France was unfit for political freedom when he became her ruler in 1800-1; and he fairly lays claim to the highest praise as an administrator in civil affairs, as a founder of social order and peace. as a legislator of supreme merit, as a great sovereign who put down anarchy. Some of his observations are strangely prophetic; he predicted that the régime of the Bourbons would give way to the monarchy of July, and be succeeded by a return to the Empire; he foresaw that Russia would gain a bad ascendancy on the continent, after 1814-15; he anticipated the break up of the Holy Alliance; he foretold the risings of 1848-49; he declared that

On his slanderers. Morris.

nothing could arrest the democratic movement, which may yet, as he said, make a Republic of Europe.

Yet, probably, what he felt most keenly was the conduct of his unworthy wife; Maria Louisa had long been a stranger to him, and had found happiness in the vows of her chamberlain; and she had not sent her husband a message to tell him of the child, once heir to august Empire, now the Astyanax of a fallen house, though she knew well how his father loved him. The captive, nevertheless, might have found, if not consolation, a sad sense of relief, as he learned from afar what was the state of Europe. He had trampled the continent under his heel; he had made France weary of war and of arbitrary power. But the evil he did had not been without good; he had desolated and disturbed the world, but civilization had followed in his path of conquest. All this had changed; and, amidst seeming peace, three-fourths of Europe were suffering from ignoble tyranny. The counter-revolution was supreme in France; the Kings and Princes who had turned to account the patriotic rising of Germany, had broken their pledges to give her liberty, and had meshed her, again, in the shackles of the past; Italy was in the degrading bonds of Austria; Rome had passed again under the rule of priests; Ferdinand was exasperat-

The state of Europe. Morris.

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ing Spain, and her people. The hope of freedom and progress seemed gone, while the Holy Alliance spread over the continent; and, terrible as the sword of Napoleon had been, it was less injurious to the estate of man than the deadening and destructive sceptre of Metternich, the strong representative of the ideas of the past.

It became apparent by the close of 1820 that the end of this extraordinary life was at hand. Though his energies had seemed to defy fatigue, Napoleon's constitution had never been strong; his health had begun to fail when he was only forty-three; and he had long suffered from two distressing maladies. At St. Helena symptoms of cancer, which had caused his father's death, were developed by degrees; the climate of the island is not unwholesome; but seclusion, suffering, and mental agony accelerated the progress of mortal disease. The wretched squabbles with the Governor had never ceased; threats had been made to break in on the exile's privacy, in order to secure proof that he was at Longwood; and Las Cases and Gourgaud had left the island.

The last phase. Morris.

We do not know where Hannibal and Alexander lie; St. Helena would have been the tomb, for all time, of Napoleon.

The spirit that informed his shape of majesty was one of the most extraordinary ever bestowed

on man. The chief intellectual gifts of Napoleon were an imagination of wonderful force; a power of calculation that embraced everything, and yet grasped the smallest details, the master faculty of always perceiving the dominant fact in what was before him, of separating from it what was subordinate, and of seeing how it could be turned to account; and admirable celerity and keenness of thought. His moral faculties were not less remarkable; ambition that nothing seemed to satisfy; self-confidence that received no check from experience; indefatigable energy that never tired, a devouring passion to achieve greatness, to do mighty deeds, to acquire renown; decision, firmness, and strength of character; dexterity and adroitness in difficult crises, extraordinary craft, and the power of concealing whatever designs or purpose were formed; and, very distinctly, a profound contempt for the great mass of ordinary men, a belief that the world is ruled by force, a conviction that genius can accomplish anything. To this should be added unbending pride, inexorable resolution in compassing ends, with little scruple as regards means; and yet, with all this, a deep sense of the divine, a temper kindly, if sometimes vehement; generosity, lavish almost to excess; a strong attachment to the ties of family; and a disposition that shrank from cruelty, and

Analysis of his character. Morris.

yet that seemed indifferent to human suffering when ambition was striving to gain its objects.

Undoubtedly, however, in the first years of his power, Frenchmen had no thought of political rights; they yearned for rest, security, and strong government, and these they obtained in full measure; and it may well be doubted whether the generation which had taken part in the Reign of Terror was capable of political liberty. Still, had Napoleon been a statesman of the highest order, had he had a clear and perfect conception of what is best for the estate of man, he would have made his despotism less harsh and absolute; and he would have trained France to become fit for freedom by cultivating peace, self-government, and social progress. But this was utterly alien to Napoleon's nature; he had a settled contempt for the great mass of mankind; he disliked, and did not countenance popular instincts, passions, movements, and tendencies; he scorned liberal principles as "ideology"; and if this conviction was not unnatural, in the case of one who abhorred the Revolutionary crimes, he certainly had no sympathy with political liberty.

The summing up. Morris.

To Count Montholon Napoleon dictated the following counsel for his son:

"My son should not think of avenging my death. He should profit by it. Let the remembrance of

what I have done never leave his mind. Let him always be like me, every inch a Frenchman. The aim of all his efforts should be to reign by peace. If he should recommence by wars out of pure love of imitation, and without any absolute necessity, he would be a mere ape. To do my work over again would be to suppose that I had done nothing. To complete it, on the contrary, would be to show the solidity of the basis, and explain the whole plan of an edifice which I had only roughly sketched. The same thing is not done twice in a century. I was obliged to daunt Europe by my arms. In the present day the way is to convince her. I saved the Revolution which was about to perish. I raised it from its ruins and showed it to the world beaming with glory. I have implanted new ideas in France and in Europe. They cannot retrograde. Let my son bring into blossom all that I have sown. Let him develop all the elements of prosperity enclosed in the soil of France, and by these means he may yet be a great sovereign.

Napoleon's counsel for his son. Montholon.

"The Bourbons will not maintain their position after my death. A reaction in my favor will take place everywhere, even in England. This reaction will be a fine inheritance for my son. It is possible that the English, in order to efface the remembrance of their persecutions, will favor my son's return to France. But in order to live in a good

understanding with England, it is necessary at any cost to favor her commercial interests. This necessity leads to one of these two consequences —war with England, or a sharing of the commerce of the world with her. This second condition is the only one possible in the present day. The exterior question will long take precedence in France of the interior. I bequeath to my son sufficient strength and sympathy to enable him to continue my work with the single aid of an elevated and conciliatory diplomacy.

The same, continued.

"His position at Vienna is deplorable. Will Austria set him at liberty unconditionally? But after all, Francis I. was once in a more critical position, and yet his French nationality was not impaired by it. Let not my son ever mount the throne by the aid of foreign influence. His aim should be not to fulfil a desire to reign, but to deserve the approbation of posterity. Let him cherish an intimacy with my family, whenever it shall be in his power. My mother is a woman of the old school. Joseph and Eugène are able to give him good counsel. Hortense and Catharine are superior women. If he remains in exile, let him marry one of my nieces. If France recalls him, let him seek the hand of a Princess of Russia. This court is the only one where family ties rule policy. The alliance which he may contract should tend to in-

crease the exterior influence of France, and not to introduce a foreign influence into its councils. The French nation, when it is not taken the wrong way, is more easily governed than any other. Its prompt and easy comprehension is unequalled. It immediately discerns who labors for and who against it. But then it is necessary always to speak to its senses, otherwise its uneasy spirit gnaws; it explodes and ferments. He has but one party to fear, that of the Duke of Orleans. This party has been germinating for a long time. Let him despise all parties, and only see the mass of the people. Excepting those who have betrayed their country, he ought to forget the previous conduct of all men, and reward talent, merit, and services wherever he finds them. Châteaubriand, notwithstanding his libel, is a good Frenchman.

Napoleon's counsel, continued.

"France is the country where the chiefs of parties have the least influence. To rest for support on them is to build on sand. Great things can only be done in France by having the support of the mass of the people. Besides, a government should always seek support where it is really to be found. There are moral laws as inflexible and imperious as the physical ones. The Bourbons can only rely for support on the nobles and the priests, whatever may be the constitution which they are made to adopt. The water will descend again to its level.

in spite of the machine which has raised it for a moment. I, on the contrary, relied on the whole mass of the people without exception. I set the example of a government which favored the interests of all. I did not govern by the help of, or solely for either the nobles, the priests, the citizens, or tradesmen. I governed for the whole community, for the whole family of the French nation.

The same, continued.

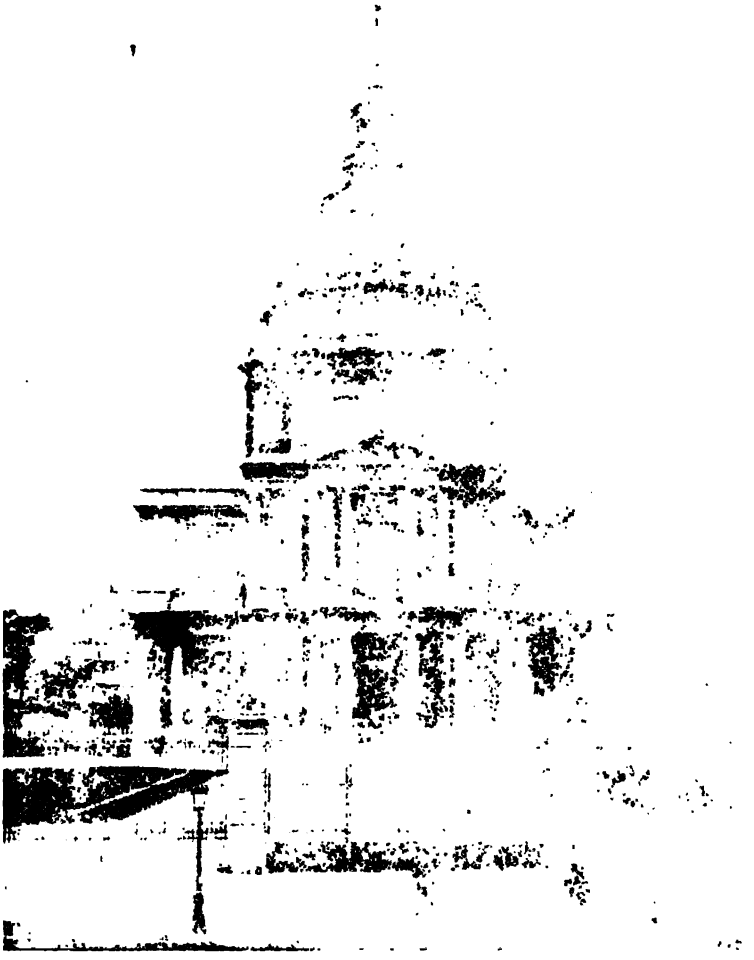
"My nobility will afford no support to my son. I required more than one generation to succeed in making them assume my color, and preserve, by tradition, the sacred deposit of my moral conquests. From the year 1815, all the grandees openly espoused the opposite party. I felt no reliance either on my marshals or my nobility, not even on my colonels; but the whole mass of the people, and the whole army, up to the grade of captain, were on my side. I was not deceived in feeling this confidence. They owe much to me. I was their true representative. My dictatorship was indispensable. The proof of this is, that they always offered me more power than I desired. In the present day there is nothing possible in France but what is necessary. It will not be the same with my son. His power will be disputed. He must anticipate every desire for liberty. It is, besides, easier in ordinary times to reign with the

help of the Chambers than alone. The Assemblies take a great part of your responsibility and nothing is more easy than always to have the majority on your side; but care must be taken not to demoralize the country. The influence of the government in France is immense; and if it understands the way, it has no need of employing corruption in order to find support on all sides. The aim of a sovereign is not only to reign, but to diffuse instruction, morality, and well-being. Anything false is but a bad aid.

Napoleon's counsel, continued.

"In my youth, I too entertained some illusions; but I soon recovered from them. The great orators who rule the assemblies by the brilliance of their eloquence, are, in general, men of the most mediocre political talents. They should not be opposed in their own way, for they have always more noisy words at command than you. Their eloquence should be opposed by a serious and logical argument. Their strength lies in vagueness. They should be brought back to the reality of facts. Practical arguments destroy them. In the Council there were men possessed of much more eloquence than I was. I always defeated them by this simple argument—two and two make four.

"France possesses very clever practical men. The only thing necessary is to find them, and to give them the means of reaching the proper



DOME DES INVALIDES

PARIS, FRANCE

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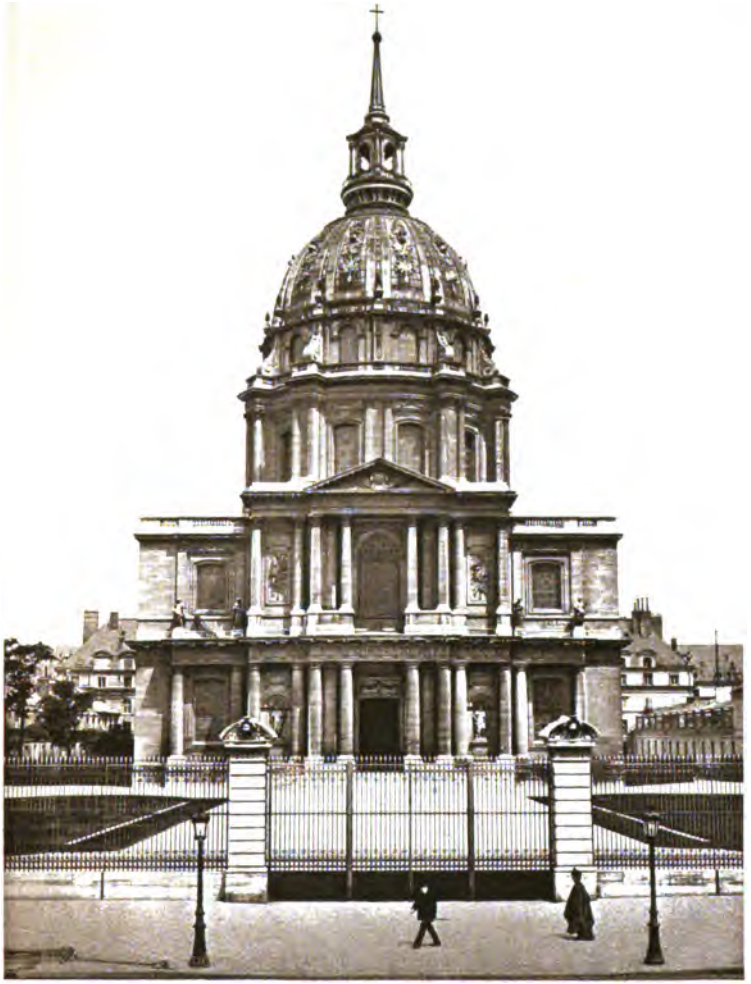

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station. One is at the plough, who ought to be in the Council, and another is minister who ought to be at the plough. Let not my son be astonished to hear men, the most reasonable to all appearance, propose to him the most absurd plans. From the agrarian law to the despotism of the Grand Turk, every system finds an apologist in France. Let him listen to them all; let him take everything at its just value and surround himself by all the real capacity of the country. The French people are influenced by two powerful passions—the love of liberty and the love of distinction. These, though seemingly opposed, are derived from one and the same feeling; a government can only satisfy these two wants by the most exact justice. The law and action of the government must be equal towards all. Honors and rewards must be conferred on the men who seem in the eyes of all to be most worthy of them. Merit may be pardoned, but not intrigue. The order of the Legion of Honor has been an immense and powerful incitement to virtue, talent, and courage. If ill employed, it would become a great evil by alienating the whole army, if the spirit of court intrigue and coterie presided at its nominations, or in its administrations.

The same, continued.

"My son will be obliged to allow the liberty of the press. This is a necessity in the present day. In order to govern, it is not necessary to pursue a

more or less perfect theory, but to build with the materials which are under one's hand; to submit to necessities and profit by them. The liberty of the press ought to become, in the hands of the government, a powerful auxiliary in diffusing, through all the most distant corners of the Empire, sound doctrines and good principles. To leave it to itself would be to fall asleep on the brink of a danger. On the conclusion of a general peace, I would have instituted a Directory of the Press, composed of the ablest men of the country; and I would have diffused, even to the most distant hamlet, my ideas and my intentions. In the present day it is impossible to remain as one might have done three hundred years ago—a quiet spectator of the transformation of society. Now one must, under the pain of death, either direct or hinder everything.

Napoleon's counsel, continued.

"My son ought to be a man of new ideas, and of the cause which I have made triumphant everywhere. He ought to establish institutions which shall efface all traces of the feudal law, secure the dignity of man, and develop those germs of prosperity which have been budding for centuries. He should propagate in all those countries uncivilized and barbarous, the benefits of Christianity and civilization. Such should be the aim of all my son's thoughts. Such is the cause for which I die

a martyr to the hatred of the oligarchs, of which I am the object. Let him consider the holiness of my cause. Look at the regicides! They were formerly in the councils of a Bourbon. To-morrow they will return to their country, and I and mine expiate in torture the blessings which I desired to bestow on nations. My enemies are the enemies of humanity. They desire to fetter the people, whom they regard as a flock of sheep. They endeavor to oppress France, and to make the stream reascend towards its source. Let them take care that it does not burst its bounds.

The same, continued.

"With my son, all opposite interests may live in peace; new ideas be diffused and gather strength, without any violent shock, or the sacrifice of any victims, and humanity be spared dreadful misfortunes. But if the blind hatred of kings still pursues my blood after my death, I shall then be avenged, but cruelly avenged. Civilization will suffer in every way, if nations burst their bounds, and rivers of blood will be shed throughout the whole of Europe; the lights of science and knowledge will be extinguished amid civil and foreign warfare. More than three hundred years of troubles will be required in order to destroy in Europe that royal authority which has, but for a day, represented the interests of all classes of men, but which struggled for several centuries before it

could throw off all the restraints of the Middle Ages. If, on the other hand, the North advances against civilization, the struggle will be of shorter duration, but the blows more fatal. The well-being of nations, all the results which it has taken so many years to obtain, will be destroyed, and none can foresee the disastrous consequences. The accession of my son is for the interest of nations, as well as kings. Beyond the circle of ideas and principles for which we have fought, and which I have carried triumphantly through all difficulties, I see naught but slavery and confusion for France and for the whole of Europe.

Napoleon's counsel, continued.

"You will publish all that I have dictated or written, and you will engage my son to read and reflect upon it. You will tell him to protect all those who have served me well, and their number is large. My poor soldiers, so devoted, so magnanimous, are now, perhaps, in want of bread! What buried riches, which will, perhaps, never again see the light of day! Europe is progressing towards an inevitable transformation. To endeavor to retard this progress would be but to lose strength by a useless struggle. To favor it is to strengthen the hopes and wishes of all.

"There are desires of nationality which must be satisfied sooner or later. It is towards this end that continual progress should be made. My

son's position will not be exempt from immense difficulties. Let him do by general consent what I was compelled by circumstances to effect by force of arms. When I was victorious over Russia, in 1812, the problem of a peace of a hundred years' duration was solved. I cut the Gordian knot of nations. In the present day it must be untied. The remembrance of the thrones which I raised up, when it was for the general interest of my policy so to do, should be effaced. In the year 1815, I exacted from my brothers that they should forget their royalty, and only take the title of French princes. My son should follow this example. An opposite course would excite just alarm.

The same, continued.

"It is no longer in the North that great questions will be resolved, but in the Mediterranean. There, there is enough to content all the ambition of the different powers; and the happiness of civilized nations may be purchased with fragments of barbarous lands. Let the kings listen to reason. Europe will no longer afford matter for maintaining international hatreds. Prejudices are dissipated and intermingled. Routes of commerce are becoming multiplied. It is no longer possible for one nation to monopolize it. As a means by which my son may see whether his administration be good or the contrary, whether his laws are in ac-

cordance with the manners of the country, let him have an annual and particular report presented to him of the number of condemnations pronounced by the tribunals. If crimes and delinquencies increase in number, it is a proof that misery is on the increase, and that society is ill governed. Their diminution, on the other hand, is a proof of the contrary.

Napoleon's counsel, continued.

"Religious ideas have more influence than certain narrow-minded philosophers are willing to believe. They are capable of rendering great services to humanity. By standing well with the Pope an influence is still maintained over the consciences of a hundred millions of men. Pius VII. will be always well-disposed towards my son. He is a tolerant and enlightened old man. Fatal circumstances embroiled our cabinets; I regret this deeply. Cardinal Fesch did not understand me. He upheld the party of the *Ultramontanes*, the enemies of true religion in France. If you are permitted to return to France you will still find many who have remained faithful to my memory. The best monuments which they could raise to me would be to make a collection of all the ideas which I expressed in the Council of State for the administration of the Empire; to collect all my instructions to my ministers, and to make a list of the works which I undertook, which I raised in

France and Italy. In what I have said in the Council of State, a distinction must be made between measures good only for the moment and those the application of which is eternally true.

"Let my son often read and reflect on history. This is the only true philosophy. Let him read and meditate on the wars of the greatest captains. This is the only means of rightly learning the science of war. But all that you say to him, or all that he learns, will be of little use to him if he has not in the depth of his heart that sacred fire and love of good which alone can effect great things. I will hope, however, that he will be worthy of his destiny."

The same, concluded.

THE WILL OF NAPOLEON.

I.

This 15th of April, 1821, at Longwood, Island of St. Helena. This is my testament, or act of my last will:

1. I die in the Apostolical and Roman religion, in the bosom of which I was born more than fifty years ago.

Napoleon's will. Bourrienne.

2. It is my wish that my ashes repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom I have loved so well.

3. I have always had reason to be pleased with my dearest wife, Maria Louisa. I retain for her,

to my last moment, the most tender sentiments. I beseech her to watch, in order to preserve my son from the snares which yet environ his infancy.

4. I recommend to my son never to forget that he was born a French Prince, and never to allow himself to become an instrument in the hands of the triumvirs who oppress the nations of Europe; he ought never to fight against France, or to injure her in any manner; he ought to adopt my motto: Everything for the French people.

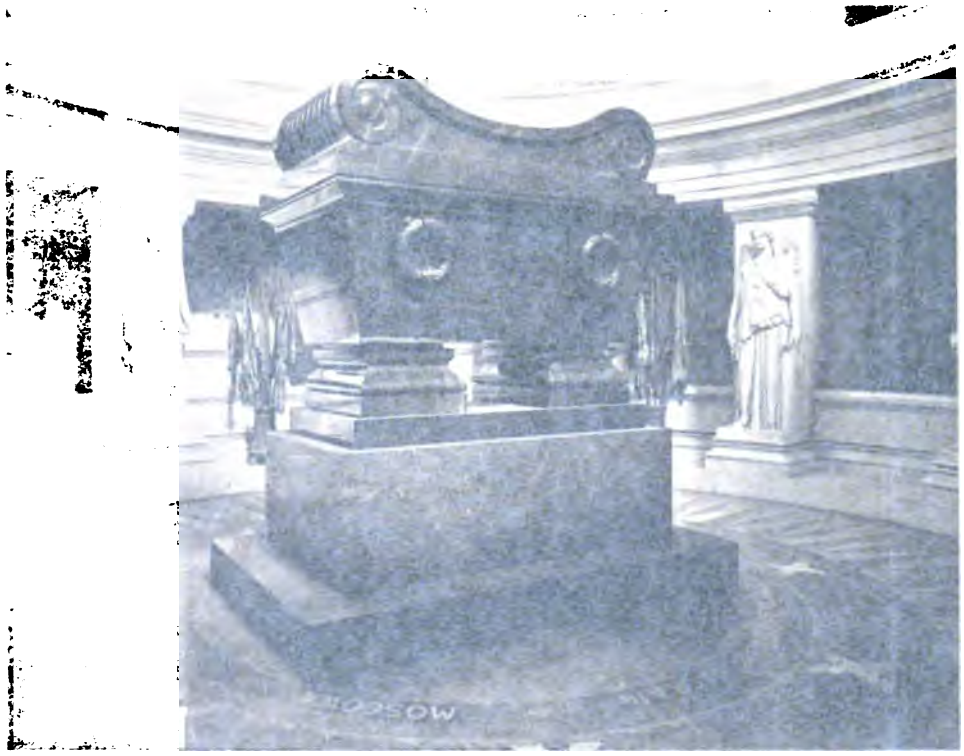
5. I die prematurely, assassinated by the English oligarchy and its tool. The English nation will not be slow in avenging me.

The will, continued.

6. The two unfortunate results of the invasions of France when she had still so many resources, are to be attributed to the treason of Marmont, Augereau, Talleyrand, and Lafayette. I forgive them. May the posterity of France forgive them as I do!

7. I thank my good and most excellent mother, the Cardinal, my brothers Joseph, Lucien, Jerome, Pauline, Caroline, Julie, Hortense, Catherine, Eugène, for the interest they have continued to feel for me. I pardon Louis for the libel he published in 1820; it is replete with false assertions and falsified documents.

8. I disavow the Manuscript of St. Helena, and other works, under the title of Maxims, Say-



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ings, etc., which persons have been pleased to publish for the last six years. Such are not the rules which have guided my life. I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and tried because that step was essential to the safety, interest, and honor of the French people, when the Comte d'Artois was maintaining, by his own confession, sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances I should act in the same way.

II.

1. I bequeath to my son the boxes, orders, and other articles, such as my plate, field-bed, arms, saddles, spurs, chapel plate, books, linen which I have been accustomed to wear and use, according to the list annexed (A). It is my wish that this slight bequest may be dear to him, as recalling the memory of a father of whom the universe will discourse to him.

The will, continued.

LIST A.

Annexed to My Will.

I.

1. The consecrated vessels which have been in use at my chapel at Longwood.

2. I direct Abbé Vignale to preserve them, and to deliver them to my son when he shall reach the age of sixteen years.

II.

1. My arms; that is to say, my sword, that which I wore at Austerlitz, the sabre of Sobieski, my dagger, my swords, my hunting-knife, my two pairs of Versailles pistols.

2. My gold dressing case, that which I made use of on the morning of Ulm and of Austerlitz, of Jena, of Eylau, of Friedland, of the Island of Lobau, of the Moskwa, of Montmirail. In this point of view it is my wish that it may be precious in the eyes of my son. (It has been deposited with Count Bertrand since 1814.)

The will, continued.

3. I charge Count Bertrand with the care of preserving these objects, and of conveying them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

III.

1. Three small mahogany boxes, containing, the first, thirty-three snuff-boxes or *bonbonnières;* the second, twelve boxes with the Imperial arms, two small eye telescopes, and four boxes found on the table of Louis XVIII. in the Tuileries on the 20th of March, 1815; the third, three snuff-boxes, ornamented with silver medals habitually used by the Emperor, and sundry articles for the use of the toilet, according to the list numbered I., II., III.

2. My field-bed, which I used in all my campaigns.

3. My field-telescope.

4. My dressing-case, one of each of my uniforms, a dozen of shirts, and a complete set of each of my dresses, and generally of everything used in my toilet.

5. My wash-hand stand.

6. A small clock which is in my bed-chamber at Longwood.

7. My two watches, and the chain of the Empress's hair.

The will, continued.

8. I intrust the care of these articles to Marchand, my principal *valet de chambre*, and direct him to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

IV.

1. My cabinet of medals.

2. My plate and my Sèvres China, which I used at St. Helena. (Lists B and C.)

3. I request Count Montholon to take care of these articles, and to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

V.

1. My three saddles and bridles, my spurs which I used at St. Helena.

2. My fowling-pieces, to the number of five.

3. I charge my *chasseur*, Novarre, with the care of these articles, and direct him to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

VI.

1. Four hundred volumes, selected from those in my library which I have been accustomed to use the most.

2. I direct Saint-Denis to take care of them, and to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years. Napoleon.

16th April, 1821, Longwood.

This Is a Codicil to My Will.

The codicil to the will.

1. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom I loved so well.

2. I bequeath to Counts Bertrand, Montholon, and to Marchand, the money, jewels, plate, china, furniture, books, arms, and generally everything that belongs to me in the Island of St. Helena.

This codicil, entirely written with my own hand, is signed and sealed with my own arms.

(L.S.) Napoleon.

This 24th of April, 1821, Longwood.

To my Son:

1. My silver dressing-case, that which is on my table, furnished with all its utensils, razors, etc.

2. My alarm clock; it is the alarm clock of Frederick II., which I took at Potsdam. (In box No. III.)

3. My two watches, with the chains of the Empress's hair, and a chain of my own hair for the other watch; Marchand will get it made at Paris.

4. My two seals (one the seal of France, contained in box No. III.).

5. The small gold clock which is now in my bed-chamber.

7. My night tables, those I used in France, and my silver-gilt bidet.

The codicil, continued.

8. My two iron bedsteads, my mattresses, and my coverlets, if they can be preserved.

Do. The collar of the Legion of Honor.

Do. The silver-gilt sword.

Do. The Consular sword.

Do. The iron sword.

Do. The collar of the Golden Fleece.

Do. The hat *à la* Henry IV.? and the toque.

Clothes.

One uniform of the Chasseurs. One uniform of the Grenadiers. One uniform of the National Guard. One green and gray great coat. One blue cloak (that which I had at Marengo). One sable-green pelisse.

The codicil, concluded.

2. I bequeath my private domain, one-half to the surviving officers and soldiers of the French army who have fought since 1792 to 1815 for the glory and the independence of the nation, the distribution to be made in proportion to their appointments upon active service, and one-half to the towns and districts of Alsace, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Burgundy, the Isle of France, Champagne, Forez, Dauphine, which may have suffered by either of the invasions. There shall be previously set apart from this sum one million for the town of Brienne, and one million for that of Mêry.

I appoint Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and Marchand, the executors of my will.

This present will, wholly written with my own hand, is signed and sealed with my own arms.

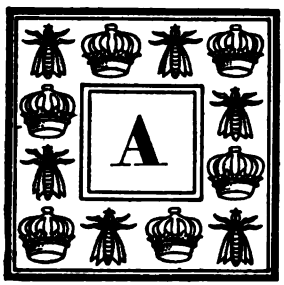
(L.S.) Napoleon.

NAPOLEON:
THE MAN OF THE WORLD

NAPOLEON:

THE MAN OF THE WORLD

FROM EMERSON'S "REPRESENTATIVE MEN"



MONG the eminent persons of the nineteenth century, Bonaparte is far the best known, and the most powerful, and owes his predominance to the fidelity with which he expresses the tone of thought and belief, the aims of the masses of active and cultivated men. It is Swedenborg's theory, that every organ is made up of homogeneous particles, or, as it is sometimes expressed, every whole is made of similars; that is, the lungs are composed of infinitely small lungs, the liver of infinitely small livers, the kidney of little kidneys, etc. Following this analogy, if any man is found to carry with him the power of affections of vast numbers, if Napoleon is France, if Napoleon is Europe, it is because the people whom he sways are little Napoleons.

In our society there is a standing antagonism between the conservative and the democratic classes; between those who have made their for-

tunes and the young and the poor who have fortunes to make; between the interests of dead labor—that is, the labor of hands long ago still in the grave, which labor is now entombed in money stocks, or in land and buildings owned by idle capitalists—and the interests of living labor which seeks to possess itself of land and buildings, and money stocks. The first class is timid, selfish, illiberal, hating innovation, and continually losing numbers by death. The second class is selfish also, encroaching, bold, self-relying, always outnumbering the other, and recruiting its numbers every hour by births. It desires to keep open every avenue to the competition of all, and to multiply avenues—the class of business men in America, in England, in France, and throughout Europe, the class of industry and skill. Napoleon is its representative. The instinct of active, brave, able men throughout the middle class everywhere has pointed out Napoleon as the incarnate Democrat. He had their virtues and their vices; above all, he had their spirit or aim. That tendency is material, pointing at a sensual success, and employing the richest and most various means to that end; conversant with mechanical powers; highly intellectual, widely and accurately learned and skilful, but subordinating all intellectual and spiritual forces into means to a material success.

NAPOLEON'S LAST DAY

From a sculpture by Véla

NAPOLEON

[illegible] the poor who have for- [illegible] the [illegible] of dead [illegible] of hands long ago still in [illegible] is now entombed in money [illegible] buildings owned by idle [illegible] interests of [illegible] labor [illegible] self of land [illegible] build- [illegible] The first class is timid, [illegible] and contin- [illegible] class is [illegible] self-relying, always [illegible] recruiting its num- [illegible] It desires to keep open [illegible] and to mul- [illegible] in Amer- [illegible] throughout Eu- [illegible] Napoleon is [illegible] brave, [illegible] everywhere [illegible] Demo- [illegible] their vices; above [illegible] tendency is [illegible] success, and em- [illegible] means to [illegible] chemical powers; highly intellectual, widely and accurately learned and skilled, but [illegible] intellectual and spiritual forces into means to a material success.

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF

THE MAN OF THE WORLD

To be the rich man is the end. "God has granted," says the Koran, "to every people a prophet in its own tongue." Paris, and London, and New York, the spirit of commerce, of money, and material power, were also to have their prophet, and Bonaparte was qualified and sent.

Every one of the million readers of anecdotes, or memoirs, or lives of Napoleon, delights in the page because he studies in it his own history. Napoleon is thoroughly modern, and, at the highest point of his fortunes, has the very spirit of the newspapers. He is no saint—to use his own word, "no capuchin," and he is no hero, in the high sense. The man in the streets finds in him the qualities and powers of other men in the street. He finds him, like himself, by birth a citizen, who, by very intelligible merits, arrived at such a commanding position that he could indulge all those tastes which the common man possesses, but is obliged to conceal and deny; good society, good books, fast travelling, dress, dinners, servants without number, personal weight, the execution of his ideas, the standing in the attitude of a benefactor to all persons about him, the refined enjoyments of pictures, statues, music, palaces, and conventional honors, precisely what is agreeable to the heart of every man in the nineteenth century, this powerful man possessed.

It is true that a man of Napoleon's truth of adaptation to the mind of the masses around him becomes not merely representative, but actually a monopolizer and usurper of other minds. Thus Mirabeau plagiarized every good thought, every good word that was spoken in France. Dumont relates that he sat in the gallery of the convention and heard Mirabeau make a speech. It struck Dumont that he could fit it with a peroration, which he wrote in pencil immediately and showed it to Lord Elgin, who sat by him. Lord Elgin approved it, and Dumont, in the evening, showed it to Mirabeau. Mirabeau read it, pronounced it admirable, and declared he would incorporate it into his harangue to-morrow, to the Assembly. "It is impossible," said Dumont, "as, unfortunately, I have shown it to Lord Elgin." "If you have shown it to Lord Elgin and to fifty persons besides, I shall still speak it to-morrow." And he did speak it with much effect at the next day's session. For Mirabeau, with his overpowering personality, felt that these things which his presence inspired were as much his own as if he had said them, and that his adoption of them gave them their weight. Much more absolute and centralizing was the successor to Mirabeau's popularity, and to much more than his predominance in France. Indeed, a man of Napoleon's stamp almost ceases to have a pri-

vate speech and opinion. He is so largely receptive and is so placed that he comes to be a bureau for all the intelligence, wit, and power of the age and country. He gains the battle; he makes the code; he makes the system of weights and measures; he levels the Alps; he builds the road. All distinguished engineers, savans, statists, report to him; so, likewise, do all good heads in every kind; he adopts the best measures, sets his stamp on them; and not these alone, but on every happy and memorable expression. Every sentence spoken by Napoleon and every line of his writing deserves reading, as it is the sense of France.

Bonaparte was the idol of common men, because he had in transcendent degree the qualities and powers of common men. There is a certain satisfaction in coming down to the lowest ground of politics, for we get rid of cant and hypocrisy. Bonaparte wrought, in common with that great class he represented, for power and wealth—but Bonaparte specially without any scruple as to the means. All the sentiments which embarrass men's pursuit of these objects, he set aside. The sentiments were for women and children. Fontanes, in 1804, expressed Napoleon's own sense, when, in behalf of the Senate, he addressed him—"Sire, the desire of perfection is the worst disease that ever afflicted the human mind." The advocates of

liberty and of progress are "ideologists";—a word of contempt often in his mouth: "Necker is an ideologist;" "Lafayette is an ideologist."

An Italian proverb, too well known, declares that, "if you would succeed, you must not be too good." It is an advantage, within certain limits, to have renounced the dominion of the sentiments of piety, gratitude, and generosity; since, what was an impassable bar to us, and still is to others, becomes a convenient weapon for our purposes; just as the river which was a formidable barrier, winter transforms into the smoothest of roads.

Napoleon renounced, once for all, sentiments and affections, and would help himself with his hands and his head. With him is no miracle, and no magic. He is a worker in brass, in iron, in wood, in earth, in roads, in buildings, in money, and in troops, and a very consistent and wise master-workman. He is never weak and literary, but acts with the solidity and the precision of natural agents. He has not lost his native sense and sympathy with things. Men give way before such a man, as before natural events. To be sure, there are men enough who are immersed in things, as farmers, smiths, sailors, and mechanics generally; and we know how real and solid such men appear in the presence of scholars and grammarians; but these men ordinarily lack the power of arrange-

ment, and are like hands without a head. But Bonaparte superadded to this mineral and animal force, insight and generalization, so that men saw in him combined the natural and the intellectual power, as if the sea and land had taken flesh and begun to cipher. Therefore the land and sea seem to presuppose him. He came unto his own, and they received him. This ciphering operative knows what he is working with and what is the product. He knew the properties of gold and iron, of wheels and ships, of troops and diplomatists, and required that each should do after its kind.

The art of war was the game in which he exerted his arithmetic. It consisted, according to him, in having always more forces than the enemy, on the point where the enemy is attacked, or where he attacks; and his whole talent is strained by endless manœuvre and evolution, to march always on the enemy at an angle, and destroy his forces in detail. It is obvious that a very small force, skilfully and rapidly manœuvring, so as always to bring two men against one at the point of engagement, will be an overmatch for a much larger body of men.

The times, his constitution, and his early circumstances, combined to develop this pattern democrat. He had the virtues of his class, and the conditions for their activity. That common sense,

which no sooner respects any end, than it finds the means to effect it; the delight in the use of means; in the choice, simplification, and combining of means; the directness and thoroughness of his work; the prudence with which all was seen, and the energy with which all was done, make him the natural organ and head of what I may almost call, from its extent, the *modern* party.

Nature must have far the greatest share in every success, and so in his. Such a man was wanted, and such a man was born; a man of stone and iron, capable of sitting on horseback sixteen or seventeen hours, of going many days together without rest or food, except by snatches, and with the speed and spring of a tiger in action; a man not embarrassed by any scruples; compact, instant, selfish, prudent, and of a perception which did not suffer itself to be balked or misled by any pretences of others, or any superstition, or any heat or haste of his own. "My hand of iron," he said, "was not at the extremity of my arm; it was immediately connected with my head." He respected the power of nature and fortune, and ascribed to it his superiority, instead of valuing himself, like inferior men, on his opinionativeness, and waging war with nature. His favorite rhetoric lay in allusion to his star; and he pleased himself, as well as the people, when he styled him-

self the "Child of Destiny." "They charge me," he said, "with the commission of great crimes; men of my stamp do not commit crimes. Nothing has been more simple than my elevation; 'tis in vain to ascribe it to intrigue or crime; it was owing to the peculiarity of the times, and to my reputation of having fought well against the enemies of my country. I have always marched with the opinion of great masses, and with events. Of what use, then, would crimes be to me?" Again he said, speaking of his son: "My son cannot replace me; I could not replace myself. I am the creature of circumstances."

He had a directness of action never before combined with so much comprehension. He is a realist, terrific to all talkers and confused truth-obscuring persons. He sees where the matter hinges, throws himself on the precise point of resistance, and slights all other considerations. He is strong in the right manner; namely, by insight. *He never blundered into victory, but won his battles in his head before he won them on the field.* His principal means are in himself. He asks counsel of no other. In 1796 he writes to the Directory: "I have conducted the campaign without consulting any one. I should have done no good, if I had been under the necessity of conforming to the notions of another person. I have gained some

advantages over superior forces, and when totally destitute of everything, because, in the persuasion that your confidence was reposed in me, my notions were as prompt as my thoughts."

History is full, down to this day, of the imbecility of kings and governors. They are a class of persons much to be pitied, for they know not what they should do. The weavers strike for bread; and the King and his Ministers, not knowing what to do, meet them with bayonets. But Napoleon understood his business. Here was a man who, in each moment and emergency, knew what to do next. It is an immense comfort and refreshment to the spirits, not only of kings, but of citizens. Few men have any next; they live from hand to mouth, without plan, and are ever at the end of their line, and, after each action, wait for an impulse from abroad. Napoleon had been the first man of the world, if his ends had been purely public. As he is, he inspires confidence and vigor by the extraordinary unity of his action. He is firm, sure, self-denying, self-postponing, sacrificing everything to his aim—money, troops, generals, and his own safety also, to his aim; not misled, like common adventurers, by the splendor of his own means. "Incidents ought not to govern policy," he said, "but policy, incidents." "To be hurried away by every event is to have no political system

at all." His victories were only so many doors, and he never for a moment lost sight of his way onward in the dazzle and uproar of the present circumstance. He knew what to do, and he flew to his mark. He would shorten a straight line to come at his object. Horrible anecdotes may, no doubt, be collected from his history, of the price at which he bought his successes; but he must not therefore be set down as cruel, but only as one who knew no impediment to his will; not bloodthirsty, not cruel—but woe to what thing or person stood in his way! Not bloodthirsty, but not sparing of blood—and pitiless. He saw only the object; the obstacle must give way. "Sire, General Clarke cannot combine with General Junot, for the dreadful fire of the Austrian battery." "Let him carry the battery." "Sire, every regiment that approaches the heavy artillery is sacrificed. Sire, what orders?" "Forward, forward!" Seruzier, a colonel of artillery, gives, in his "Military Memoirs," the following sketch of a scene after the battle of Austerlitz: "At the moment in which the Russian army was making its retreat, painfully, but in good order, on the ice of the lake, the Emperor Napoleon came riding at full speed toward the artillery. 'You are losing time,' he cried; 'fire upon these masses: they must be engulfed; fire upon the ice!' The order re-

mained unexecuted for ten minutes. In vain several officers and myself were placed on the slope of a hill to produce the effect; their balls and mine rolled upon the ice, without breaking it up. Seeing that, I tried a simple method of elevating light howitzers. The almost perpendicular fall of the heavy projectiles produced the desired effect. My method was immediately followed by the adjoining batteries, and in less than no time we buried " some " thousands of Russians and Austrians under the waters of the lake."

In the plenitude of his resources every obstacle seemed to vanish. " There shall be no Alps," he said; and he built his perfect roads, climbing by graded galleries their steepest precipices until Italy was as open to Paris as any town in France. He laid his bones to and wrought for his crown. Having decided what was to be done, he did that with might and main. He put out all his strength. He risked everything and spared nothing, neither ammunition, nor money, nor troops, nor generals, nor himself.

We like to see everything do its office after its kind, whether it be a milch cow or a rattlesnake; and if fighting be the best mode of adjusting national differences (as large majorities of men seem to agree), certainly Bonaparte was right in making it thorough. " The grand principle of war,"

he said, "was that an army ought always to be ready, by day and by night, and at all hours, to make all the resistance it is capable of making." He never economized his ammunition, but on a hostile position rained a torrent of iron—shells, balls, grape-shot—to annihilate all defence. On any point of resistance he concentrated squadron on squadron in overwhelming numbers until it was swept out of existence. To a regiment of horse chasseurs at Lobenstein, two days before the battle of Jena, Napoleon said: "My lads, you must not fear death; when soldiers brave death they drive him into the enemy's ranks." In the fury of assault he no more spared himself. He went to the edge of his possibility. It is plain that in Italy he did what he could and all that he could. He came several times within an inch of ruin; and his own person was all but lost. He was flung into the marsh at Arcola. The Austrians were between him and his troops in the mêlée and he was brought off with desperate efforts. At Lonato and at other places he was on the point of being taken prisoner. He fought sixty battles. He had never enough. Each victory was a new weapon. "My power would fall were I not to support it by new achievements. Conquest has made me what I am, and conquest must maintain me." He felt, with every wise man, that as much life is

needed for conservation as for creation. We are always in peril, always in a bad plight, just on the edge of destruction, and only to be saved by invention and courage.

This vigor was guarded and tempered by the coldest prudence and punctuality. A thunderbolt in the attack, he was found invulnerable in his intrenchments. His very attack was never the inspiration of courage but the result of calculation. His idea of the best defence consists in being still the attacking party. "My ambition," he says, "was great, but was of a cold nature." In one of his conversations with Las Cases he remarked: "As to moral courage, I have rarely met with the two-o'clock-in-the-morning kind; I mean unprepared courage, that which is necessary on an unexpected occasion; and which, in spite of the most unforeseen events, leaves full freedom of judgment and decision;" and he did not hesitate to declare that he was himself eminently endowed with this "two-o'clock-in-the-morning courage," and that he had met with few persons equal to himself in this respect.

Everything depended on the nicety of his combinations, and the stars were not more punctual than his arithmetic. His personal attention descended to the smallest particulars. "At Montebello I ordered Kellermann to attack with eight

hundred horse, and with these he separated the six thousand Hungarian grenadiers, before the very eyes of the Austrian cavalry. This cavalry was half a league off, and required a quarter of an hour to arrive on the field of action; and I have observed that it is always these quarters of an hour that decide the fate of a battle." "Before he fought a battle, Bonaparte thought little about what he should do in case of success, but a great deal about what he should do in case of a reverse of fortune." The same prudence and good sense mark all his behavior. His instructions to his secretary at the Tuileries are worth remembering: "During the night, enter my chamber as seldom as possible. Do not awake me when you have any good news to communicate; with that there is no hurry. But when you bring bad news, rouse me instantly, for then there is not a moment to be lost." It was a whimsical economy of the same kind which dictated his practice, when general in Italy, in regard to his burdensome correspondence. He directed Bourrienne to leave all letters unopened for three weeks, and then observed with satisfaction how large a part of the correspondence had thus disposed of itself, and no longer required an answer. His achievement of business was immense, and enlarges the known powers of man. There have been many working kings, from

Ulysses to William of Orange, but none who accomplished a tithe of this man's performance.

To these gifts of nature, Napoleon added the advantage of having been born to a private and humble fortune. In his later days he had the weakness of wishing to add to his crowns and badges the prescription of aristocracy; but he knew his debt to his austere education, and made no secret of his contempt for the born kings, and for "the hereditary asses," as he coarsely styled the Bourbons. He said that "in their exile, they had learned nothing, and forgot nothing." Bonaparte had passed through all the degrees of military service, but also was citizen before he was Emperor, and so has the key to citizenship. His remarks and estimates discover the information and justness of measurement of the middle class. Those who had to deal with him found that he was not to be imposed upon, but could cipher as well as another man. This appears in all parts of his Memoirs, dictated at St. Helena. When the expenses of the Empress, of his household, of his palaces, had accumulated great debts, Napoleon examined the bills of the creditors himself, detected overcharges and errors, and reduced the claims by considerable sums.

His grand weapon, namely, the millions whom he directed, he owed to the representative charac-

ter which clothed him. He interests us as he stands for France and for Europe; and he exists as Captain and King, only as far as the Revolution, or the interest of the industrious masses, found an organ and a leader in him. In the social interests he knew the meaning and value of labor, and threw himself naturally on that side. I like an incident mentioned by one of his biographers at St. Helena:

"When walking with Mrs. Balcombe, some servants, carrying heavy boxes, passed by on the road, and Mrs. Balcombe desired them, in rather an angry tone, to keep back. Napoleon interfered, saying, 'Respect the burden, Madame.'" In the time of the Empire he directed attention to the improvement and embellishment of the markets of the capital. "The market-place," he said, "is the Louvre of the common people." The principal works that have survived him are his magnificent roads. He filled the troops with his spirit, and a sort of freedom and companionship grew up between him and them, which the forms of his court never permitted between the officers and himself. They performed under his eye that which no others could do. The best document of his relation to his troops is the order of the day on the morning of the battle of Austerlitz, in which Napoleon promises the troops that he will keep his person

out of reach of fire. This declaration, which is the reverse of that ordinarily made by generals and sovereigns on the eve of a battle, sufficiently explains the devotion of the army to their leader.

But though there is in particulars this identity between Napoleon and the mass of the people, his real strength lay in their conviction that he was their representative in his genius and aims, not only when he courted, but when he controlled and even when he decimated them by his conscriptions. He knew as well as any Jacobin in France how to philosophize on liberty and equality; and when allusion was made to the precious blood of centuries, which was spilled by the killing of the Duc d'Enghien, he suggested, "Neither is my blood ditch water." The people felt that no longer the throne was occupied and the land sucked of its nourishment by a small class of legitimates, secluded from all community with the children of the soil, and holding the ideas and superstitions of a long-forgotten state of society. Instead of that vampire, a man of themselves held in the Tuileries knowledge and ideas like their own, opening, of course, to them and their children, all places of power and trust. The day of sleepy, selfish policy, ever narrowing the means and opportunities of young men, was ended, and a day of expansion and demand was come. A market for

all the powers and productions of man was opened; brilliant prizes glittered in the eyes of youth and talent. The old, iron-bound, feudal France was changed into a young Ohio or New York; and those who smarted under the immediate rigors of the new monarch pardoned them, as the necessary severities of the military system which had driven out the oppressor. And even when the majority of the people had begun to ask whether they had really gained anything under the exhausting levies of men and money of the new master—the whole talent of the country, in every rank and kindred, took his part, and defended him as its natural patron. In 1814, when advised to rely on the higher classes, Napoleon said to those around him: "Gentlemen, in the situation in which I stand, my only nobility is the rabble of the Faubourgs."

Napoleon met this natural expectation. The necessity of his position required a hospitality to every sort of talent, and its appointment to trusts; and his feeling went along with this policy. Like every superior person, he undoubtedly felt a desire for men and compeers, and a wish to measure his power with other masters, and an impatience of fools and underlings. In Italy he sought for men, and found none. "Good God!" he said, "how rare men are! There are eighteen millions in

Italy, and I have with difficulty found two—Dandolo and Melzi." In later years, with larger experience, his respect for mankind was not increased. In a moment of bitterness he said to one of his oldest friends: "Men deserve the contempt with which they inspire me. I have only to put some gold lace on the coat of my virtuous republicans, and they immediately become just what I wish them." This impatience at levity was, however, an oblique tribute of respect to those able persons who commanded his regard, not only when he found them friends and coadjutors, but also when they resisted his will. He could not confound Fox and Pitt, Carnot, Lafayette, and Bernadotte with the danglers of his court; and, in spite of the detraction which his systematic egotism dictated towards the great captains who conquered with and for him, ample acknowledgments are made by him to Lannes, Duroc, Kléber, Dessaix, Masséna, Murat, Ney, and Augereau. If he felt himself their patron, and the founder of their fortunes, as when he said, "I made my generals out of mud," he could not hide his satisfaction in receiving from them a seconding and support commensurate with the grandeur of his enterprise. In the Russian campaign he was so much impressed by the courage and resources of Marshal Ney that he said: "I have two hundred mil-

lions in my coffers, and I would give them all for Ney." The characters which he has drawn of several of his marshals are discriminating, and, though they did not content the insatiable vanity of French officers, are, no doubt, substantially just. And, in fact, every species of merit was sought and advanced under his government. "I know," he said, "the depth and draught of water of every one of my generals." Natural power was sure to be well received at his court. Seventeen men, in his time, were raised from common soldiers to the rank of king, marshal, duke, or general; and the crosses of his Legion of Honor were given to personal valor, and not to family connection. "When soldiers have been baptized in the fire of a battle-field, they have all one rank in my eyes."

When a natural king becomes a titular king, everybody is pleased and satisfied. The Revolution entitled the strong populace of the Faubourg St. Antoine, and every horse-boy and powder monkey in the army, to look on Napoleon as flesh of his flesh, and the creature of his party; but there is something in the success of grand talent which enlists a universal sympathy. For, in the prevalence of sense and spirit over stupidity and malversation, all reasonable men have an interest; and, as intellectual beings, we feel the air purified

by the electric shock when material force is overthrown by intellectual energies. As soon as we are removed out of the reach of local and accidental partialities, man feels that Napoleon fights for him; these are honest victories; this strong steam engine does our work. Whatever appeals to the imagination, by transcending the ordinary limits of human ability, wonderfully encourages and liberates us. This capacious head, revolving and disposing sovereignly trains of affairs, and animating such multitudes of agents; this eye, which looked through Europe; this prompt invention; this inexhaustible resource:—what events! what romantic pictures! what strange situations! —when spying the Alps, by a sunset in the Sicilian Sea; drawing up his army for battle, in sight of the Pyramids, and saying to his troops: "From the tops of those pyramids, forty centuries look down on you;" fording the Red Sea; wading in the gulf of the Isthmus of Suez. On the shore of Ptolemais, gigantic projects agitated him. "Had Acre fallen, I should have changed the face of the world." His army on the night of the battle of Austerlitz, which was the anniversary of his inauguration as Emperor, presented him with a bouquet of forty standards taken in the fight. Perhaps it is a little puerile, the pleasure he took in making these contrasts glaring; as when he

pleased himself with making kings wait in his ante-chamber, at Tilsit, at Paris, and at Erfurt.

We cannot, in the universal imbecility, indecision, and indolence of men, sufficiently congratulate ourselves on this strong and ready actor, who took occasion by the beard, and showed us how much may be accomplished by the mere force of such virtues as all men possess in less degrees; namely, by punctuality, by personal attention, by courage, and thoroughness. "The Austrians," he said, "do not know the value of time." I should cite him, in his earlier years, as a model of prudence. His power does not consist in any wild or extravagant force; in any enthusiasm, like Mahomet's; or singular power of persuasion; but in the exercise of common sense on each emergency, instead of abiding by rules and customs. The lesson he teaches is that which vigor always teaches —that there is always room for it. To what heaps of cowardly doubts is not that man's life an answer! When he appeared, it was the belief of all military men that there could be nothing new in war; as it is the belief of men to-day that nothing new can be undertaken in politics, or in church, or in letters, or in trade, or in farming, or in our social manners and customs; and as it is, at all times, the belief of society that the world is used up. But Bonaparte knew better than society; and,

moreover, knew that he knew better. I think all men know better than they do; know that the institutions we so volubly commend are go-carts and baubles; but they dare not trust their presentiments. Bonaparte relied on his own sense, and did not care a bean for other people's. The world treated his novelties just as it treats everybody's novelties—made infinite objection; mustered all the impediments; but he snapped his finger at their objections. "What creates great difficulty," he remarks, "in the profession of the land commander, is the necessity of feeding so many men and animals. If he allows himself to be guided by the commissaries he will never stir, and all his expeditions will fail." An example of his common sense is what he says of the passage of the Alps in winter, which all writers, one repeating after the other, had described as impracticable.

"The winter," says Napoleon, "is not the most unfavorable season for the passage of lofty mountains. The snow is then firm, the weather settled, and there is nothing to fear from avalanches, the real and only danger to be apprehended in the Alps. On those high mountains, there are often very fine days in December, of a dry cold, with extreme calmness in the air." Read his account, too, of the way in which battles are gained. "In all battles, a moment occurs when the bravest troops,

after having made the greatest efforts, feel inclined to run. That terror proceeds from a want of confidence in their own courage; and it only requires a slight opportunity, a pretence, to restore confidence to them. The art is to give rise to the opportunity, and to invent the pretence. At Arcola I won the battle with twenty-five horsemen. I seized that moment of lassitude, gave every man a trumpet, and gained the day with this handful. You see that two armies are two bodies which meet, and endeavor to frighten each other; a moment of panic occurs, and that moment must be turned to advantage. When a man has been present in many actions, he distinguishes that moment without difficulty; it is as easy as casting up an addition."

This deputy of the nineteenth century added to his gifts a capacity for speculation on general topics. He delighted in running through the range of practical, of literary, and of abstract questions. His opinion is always original, and to the purpose. On the voyage to Egypt, he liked, after dinner, to fix on three or four persons to support a proposition, and as many to oppose it. He gave a subject, and the discussions turned on questions of religion, the different kinds of government, and the art of war. One day he asked whether the planets were inhabited. On another, what was the

age of the world. Then he proposed to consider the probability of the destruction of the globe, either by water or by fire; at another time, the truth or fallacy of presentiments, and the interpretation of dreams. He was very fond of talking of religion. In 1806 he conversed with Fournier, bishop of Montpélier, on matters of theology. There were two points on which they could not agree; viz., that of hell, and that of salvation out of the pale of the Church. The Emperor told Josephine that he disputed like a devil on these two points, on which the bishop was inexorable. To the philosophers he readily yielded all that was proved against religion as the work of men and time; but he would not hear of materialism. One fine night, on deck, amid a clatter of materialism, Bonaparte pointed to the stars, and said: "You may talk as long as you please, gentlemen, but who made all that?" He delighted in the conversation of men of science, particularly of Monge and Berthollet; but the men of letters he slighted; "they were manufacturers of phrases." Of medicine, too, he was fond of talking, and with those of its practitioners whom he most esteemed—with Corvisart at Paris, and with Antonomarchi at St. Helena. "Believe me," he said to the last, "we had better leave off all these remedies; life is a fortress which neither you nor I know anything about. Why

throw obstacles in the way of its defence? Its own means are superior to all the apparatus of your laboratories. Corvisart candidly agreed with me, that all your filthy mixtures are food for nothing. Medicine is a collection of uncertain prescriptions, the results of which, taken collectively, are more fatal than useful to mankind. Water, air, and cleanliness are the chief articles in my pharmacopœia."

His Memoirs, dictated to Count Montholon and General Gourgaud, at St. Helena, have great value, after all the deduction that, it seems, is to be made from them, on account of his known disingenuousness. He has the good-nature of strength and conscious superiority. I admire his simple, clear narrative of his battles;—good as Cæsar's; his good-natured and sufficiently respectful account of Marshal Wurmser and his other antagonists; and his own equality as a writer to his varying subject. The most agreeable portion is the Campaign in Egypt.

He had hours of thought and wisdom. In intervals of leisure, either in the camp or the palace, Napoleon appears as a man of genius, directing on abstract questions the native appetite for truth and the impatience of words he was wont to show in war. He could enjoy every play of invention, a romance, a *bon mot*, as well as a stratagem in a

campaign. He delighted to fascinate Josephine and her ladies, in a dim-lighted apartment, by the terrors of a fiction, to which his voice and dramatic power lent every addition.

I call Napoleon the agent or attorney of the middle class of modern society; of the throng who fill the markets, shops, counting-houses, manufactories, ships, of the modern world, aiming to be rich. He was the agitator, the destroyer of prescription, the internal improver, the liberal, the radical, the inventor of means, the opener of doors and markets, the subverter of monopoly and abuse. Of course, the rich and aristocratic did not like him. England, the centre of capital, and Rome and Austria, centres of tradition and genealogy, opposed him. The consternation of the dull and conservative classes, the terror of the foolish old men and old women of the Roman conclave—who in their despair took hold of anything, and would cling to red-hot iron—the vain attempts of statists to amuse and deceive him, of the Emperor of Austria to bribe him; and the instinct of the young, ardent, and active men, everywhere, which pointed him out as the giant of the middle class, make his history bright and commanding.

CHRONOLOGY

CHRONOLOGY OF NAPOLEON'S LIFE

ACCORDING TO BOURRIENNE

AGE	DATE	EVENT
	1769. Aug. 15th.—	Napoleon Bonaparte born at Ajaccio, in Corsica. Fourth child of Charles Bonaparte and of Letitia, nee Ramolino.
9.	1779. Apl. 25th.—	Napoleon enters the Royal Military School of Brienne-le-Chateau.
15.	1784. Oct. 23rd—	Napoleon enters the Royal Military School of Paris.
16.	1785. Sept. 1st.—	Napoleon appointed Lieutenant in the Compagnie d'Autume of Bombardiers of the 5th Brigade of the 1st Battalion of the (Artillery) Regiment de la Fere, then quartered at Valence.
16.	1785. Oct. 29th.—	Napoleon leaves the Military School of Paris.
19.	1789. Apl. 5th-30th.—	Napoleon at Seurre in command of a detachment.
22.	1791. Dec. 12th.—	Maria Louisa, daughter of Emperor Francis, born.
22.	1792. June 20th.—	Attack of mob on Tuileries; King wears cap of liberty; Napoleon looking on.
22.	1792. Aug. 10th.—	Sack of Tuileries; slaughter of Swiss Guard; King suspended from his functions.
25-26.	1795. June 13th.—	Napoleon ordered to join Hoche's army at Brest, to command a brigade of infantry; remains in

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AGE	DATE	EVENT
		Paris; 21st August, attached to Committee of Public Safety as one of four advisers; 15th September, struck off list of employed Generals for disobedience of orders in not proceeding to the west.
26.	1795. Oct. 5th-13th.—	Vendemiaire (Jour des Sections).—Napoleon defends the convention from the revolt of the Sections, and fires on the people, as second in command under Barras.
26.	1795. Oct. 16th.—	Napoleon appointed provisionally General of Division.
26.	1795. Oct. 20th.—	Napoleon appointed General of Division and Commander of the Army of the Interior (i. e. of Paris).
26.	1796. March 2nd.—	Napoleon appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Italy; 9th March, marries Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie, Vicomtesse de Beauharnais, widow of General Vicomte Alexandre de Beauharnais, and leaves Paris for Italy on 11th March.
26.	1796.	First Italian campaign of Napoleon against Austrians under Beaulieu, and Sardinians under Colli. Battle of Montenotte, 12th April; Millesimo, 13th April; Dego, 14th and 15th April; Mondovi, 21st April; Armistice of Cherasco with Sardinians, 28th April; battle of Lodi, 9th May; Austrians beaten out of Lombardy and Mantua besieged.

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AGE	DATE	EVENT
27.	1797. March 10th.—	Napoleon commences his advance on the Archduke Charles; beats him at the Tagliamento, 16th March; 7th April, armistice of Judenbourg; 18th April, provisional treaty of Leoben with Austria, who cedes the Netherlands, and is to get the Venetian territory on the mainland; Hoche advances, crosses the Rhine same day, and Moreau on 20th April, till stopped by news of peace.
28.	1797. Sept. 4th.—	Coup d'etat of 18th Fructidor; majority of Directors, supported by the Jacobins and by Napoleon, put down Royalist movement and banish many deputies to Cayenne.
28.	1797. Oct. 17th.—	Treaty of Campo-Formio between France and Austria to replace that of Leoben; Venice partitioned, and itself now falls to Austria.
28.	1798.	Egyptian expedition. Napoleon sails from Toulon, 19th May; takes Malta, 12th June; lands near Alexandria, 1st July; Alexandria taken, 2nd July; battle of the Chebreisse, 13th July; battle of the Pyramids, 21st July; Cairo entered, 23rd July.
28.	1798. Aug. 1st.—	Battle of the Nile.
29.	1799. July 25th.—	Battle of Aboukir; Turks defeated. Meanwhile the Austrians and Russians have driven the French out of Italy, Macdonald being beaten by Suwarrow on the Trebbia, 18th to 20th June, and Hoche being defeated and killed at Novi, 15th

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AGE	DATE	EVENT
		August; French in same position as when Napoleon took command in 1796.
30.	1799. August.—	(22nd August, Thiers; 24th August, Bourrienne; 10th September, Marmont). — Napoleon sails from Egypt; lands at Frejus, 6th October. Meanwhile Massena beats the Russians and Austrians, 25th and 26th September, at Zurich; Suwarrow forces his way over the Alps, but withdraws his army in disgust with the Austrians in October.
30.	1799. October.—	9th and 10th, 18th and 19th Brumaire.—Napoleon seizes power. Provisionary Consulate formed—Napoleon, Sieyes, and Roger-Ducos.
30.	1799. Dec. 25th.—	Napoleon, First Consul; Cambaceres, Second Consul; Lebrun, Third Consul.
30.	1800. May and June.—	Marengo campaign. 14th May, Napoleon commences passage of St. Bernard; 2nd June, enters Milan; 4th June, Massena surrenders Genoa to Austrians; 9th June, Lannes gains battle of Montebello; 14th June, battle of Marengo; Desaix killed (Kleber assassinated in Egypt same day); Armistice signed by Napoleon with Melas, 15th June; Genoa and Italian fortresses surrendered to French; Moreau concludes armistice, 15th July, having reached middle of Bavaria.

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AGE	DATE	EVENT
31.	1800. Dec. 24th.—	(3d Nivose).—Affair of the Rue St. Nicaise; attempt to assassinate Napoleon by infernal machine.
31.	1801. July 15th.—	Concordat with Rome; Roman Catholic religion restored in France.
32.	1802. March 27th.—	Treaty of Amiens; England restores all conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad; French to evacuate Naples and Rome; Malta to be restored to Knights.
32.	1802. May 19th.—	Legion of Honor instituted; carried out 14th July, 1814.
32.	1802. Aug. 4th.—	Napoleon First Consul for life.
33.	1803. May.—	War between France and England.
33.	1803. March 5th.—	Civil Code (later, Code Napoleon) decreed.
34.	1804. March 21st.—	Duc d'Enghien shot at Vincennes.
34.	1804. May 18th.—	Napoleon crowned Emperor of des Francais, December 2nd.
36.	1805.	Ulm campaign; 25th September, Napoleon crosses the Rhine; 14th October, battle of Elchingen; 20th October, Mack surrenders Ulm.
36.	1805. Oct. 21st.—	Battle of Trafalgar.
36.	1805. Dec. 2nd.—	Russians and Austrians defeated at Austerlitz.
36.	1806. Feb. 15th.—	Joseph Bonaparte enters Naples as King.
36.	1806. June 5th.—	Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland.

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AGE	DATE		EVENT
38.	1807.	Oct. 27th.—	Secret treaty of Fontainebleau between France and Spain for the partition of Portugal; Junot enters Lisbon, 30th November; Royal family withdraw to Brazil.
38.	1808.	March.—	French, under Murat, gradually occupy Spain under pretence of march on Portugal; 2nd May, insurrection at Madrid; 9th May, treaty of Bayonne; Charles IV. of Spain cedes throne; Joseph Bonaparte transferred from Naples to Spain; replaced at Naples by Murat.
39.	1808.	Nov. and Dec.—	Napoleon beats the Spanish armies; enters Madrid; marches against Moore, but suddenly returns to France to prepare for Austrian campaign.
39.	1809.		Campaign of Wagram. Austrians advance 10th April; battle of Abensberg, 20th April; Eckmuhl, 22nd April; Napoleon occupies Vienna, 13th May; beaten back at Essling, 22nd May; finally crosses Danube, 4th July, and defeats Austrians at Wagram, 6th July; Armistice of Znaim, 12th July.
40.	1809.	Dec. 15th-16th.—	Josephine divorced.
40.	1810.	April 1st-2nd.—	Marriage of Napoleon, aged 40, with Maria Louisa, aged 18 years, 3 months.
41.	1811.	March 20th.—	The King of Rome, son of Napoleon, born.

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AGE	DATE	EVENT
42-43.	1812. June 23rd.—	War with Russia; Napoleon crosses the Niemen; 7th September, battle of Moskwa or Borodino; Napoleon enters Moscow, 14th September; commences his retreat, 19th October.
43.	1813. Nov. 26th-28th.—	Passage of the Beresina; 5th December, Napoleon leaves his army; arrives at Paris, 18th December.
43-44.	1813.	Leipsic campaign. 2nd May, Napoleon defeats Russians and Prussians at Lutzen; and again on 20th-21st May at Bautzen (21st June, battle of Vittoria, Joseph decisively defeated by Wellington); 26th June, interview of Napoleon and Metternich at Dresden; 10th August, midnight, Austria joins the allies; 26th-27th August, Napoleon defeats allies at Dresden, but Vandamme is routed at Kulm on 30th August, and on 16th-19th October, Napoleon is beaten at Leipsic; 30th October, Napoleon sweeps Bavarians from his path at Hanau.
44.	1814. March 21st.—	Napoleon commences his march to throw himself on the communications of the allies; 25th March, allies commence their march on Paris; battle of La Fere Champenoise, Marmont and Mortier beaten; 28th March, Napoleon turns back at St. Dizier to follow allies; 29th March, Empress and court leave Paris.

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AGE	DATE	EVENT
44.	1814. March 30th.—	Paris capitulates; allied Sovereigns enter on 31st March.
44.	1814. April 2nd.—	Senate declare the dethronement of Napoleon, who abdicates, conditionally, on 4th April in favor of his son, and unconditionally on 6th April; Marmont's corps marches into the enemy's lines on 5th April; on 11th April Napoleon signs the treaty giving him Elba for life; 20th April, Napoleon takes leave of the Guard at Fontainebleau; 3rd May, Louis XVIII. enters Paris; 4th May, Napoleon lands in Elba.
44.	1814. May 30th.—	First treaty of Paris; France restricted to limits of 1792, with some slight additions, part of Savoy, etc.
45.	1815. Feb. 26th.—	Napoleon quits Elba; lands near Cannes, 1st March; 19th March, Louis XVIII. leaves Paris about midnight; 20th March, Napoleon enters Paris.
45.	1815. June 16th.—	Battles of Ligny and Quatre-Bras; 18th June, battle of Waterloo.
45-46.	1815. June 29th.—	Napoleon leaves Malmaison for Rochefort, surrenders to English, 15th July; sails for St. Helena, 8th August; arrives at St. Helena, 15th October.
46.	1815. Nov. 20th.—	Second treaty of Paris; France restricted to limits of 1790; losing Savoy, etc.; pays an indemnity and receives an army of occupation.

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AGE	DATE	EVENT
51 yrs., 8 mths.	1821.	May 5th.—Napoleon dies at 5:45 P. M.; buried 8th May.
	Oct. 15. 1840.	Body of Napoleon disentombed; embarked in the Belle Poule, commanded by the Prince de Joinville, son of Louis Philippe, on 16th October; placed in the Invalides, 15th December, 1840.

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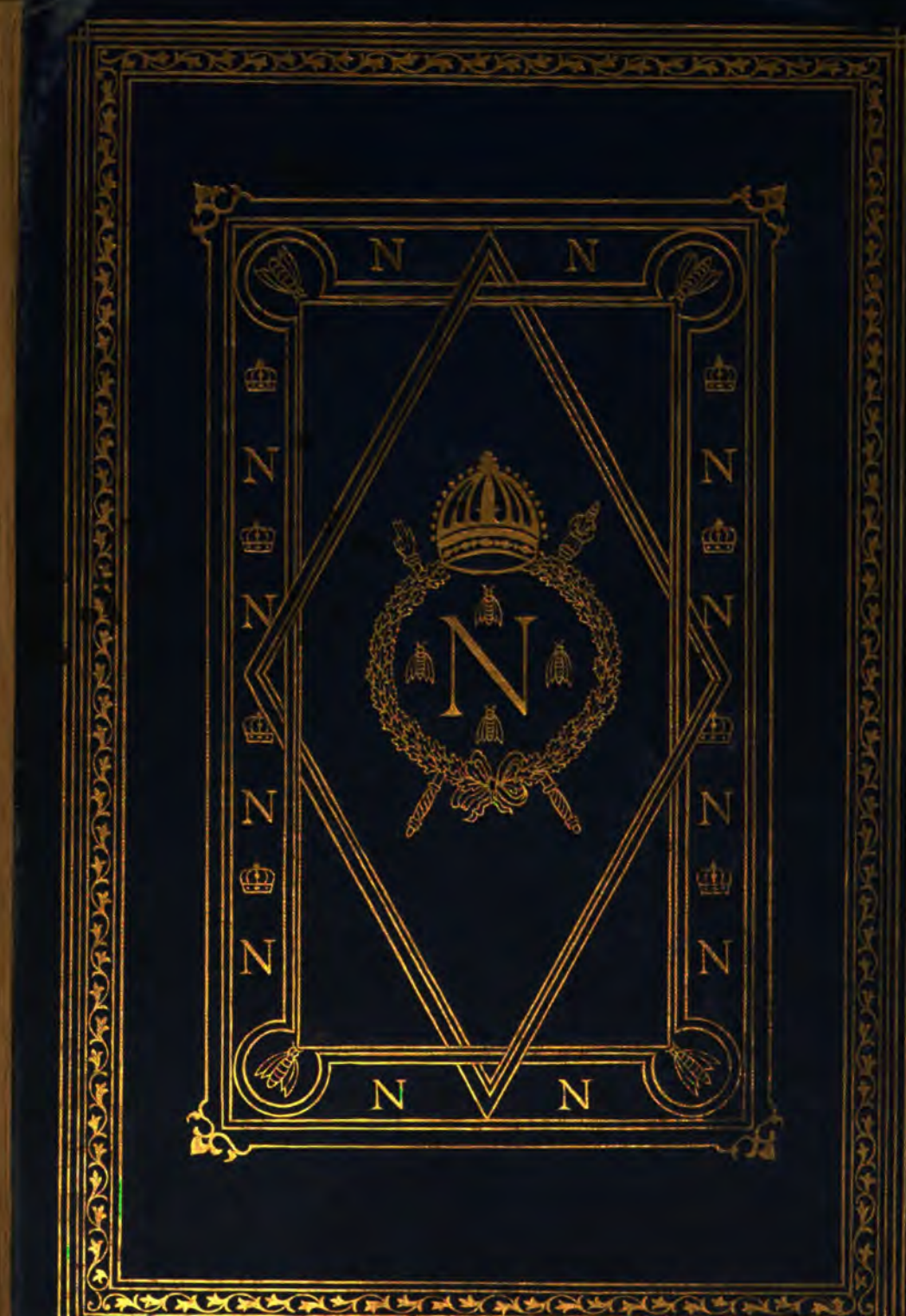
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